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# MEN OF THE FAR RIGHT

Richard Dudman

'he conservatives—a fascinating
:omprehensive report on
he new force in American life.

☆ ☆ ☆ ☆

BARRY GOLDWATER

WILLIAM BUCKLEY

GEORGE SOKOLSKY

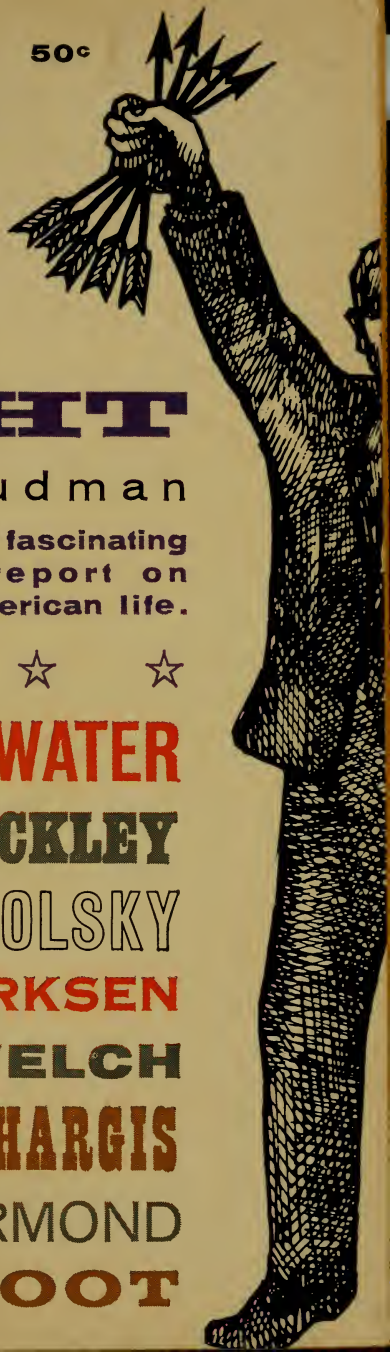
EVERETT DIRKSEN

ROBERT WELCH

BILLY JAMES HARGIS

STROM THURMOND

DAN SMOOT



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Here is a book that no American—whatever his opinions—can afford to miss!

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# MEN OF THE FAR RIGHT

by Richard Dudman

PYRAMID BOOKS NEW YORK

MEN OF THE FAR RIGHT

A Pyramid Book

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# Chapter 1

## *The Pendulum Swings Right*

*"The fossils have climbed out from under the stones and brushed themselves off."*

—SENATOR BARRY M. GOLDWATER

A NEW MOOD has come over many Americans, dampening their customary self-confidence and optimism.

Partly it is a mood of resentment—over incomes shrunken by years of inflation; over jobs lost through automation or an efficiency expert's recommendations; over neighborhoods that have become run-down as the patterns of the big cities change; over the "intrusion" of Jews or Negroes or Catholics into communities where they had not been known before; over the innumerable restrictions and endless red tape of a society and an economy growing ever more crowded and complex.

Partly the new mood is one of unease over the struggle with the Soviet bloc, a struggle with recurrent crises, constantly broadening national responsibilities, and no victory in sight.

Some particular jolting experiences like the Korean War, the Soviet space successes, and the development of a communist regime in Cuba have given the new mood special international significance.

To describe it, Thomas L. Hughes, deputy director of intelligence and research in the State Department, has used the term "cold war battle fatigue." The chief symptom is a longing for short-cut answers. It can result in proposals to withdraw from the United Nations, abandon our allies, raise our tariffs, eliminate the income tax, slash the budget, and go to war at the drop of a hat with anyone

who disagrees. Its victims, more often than not, have gone in for amateur anti-communism.

The manifestations of the new American mood are highly diverse.

In Washington, D. C., on a spring day this year, a pimply-faced young man carrying a picket's sign paced back and forth in front of the White House. On his sleeve was a red arm band with a black swastika, symbol of something called the "American Nazi Party."

At the other end of Pennsylvania Avenue, a group of gray-haired women listened intently to a Senate hearing on charges that the United States was operating under a secret "no-win" policy. The women wore large buttons saying "In the NIC of time." The initials stood for the National Indignation Convention, organized to oppose the training of Yugoslav air force pilots in the United States.

In Los Angeles, a retired Marine colonel, winner of the Medal of Honor, stood up at a "Project Alert" anti-communism school and said Chief Justice Earl Warren ought to be hanged. He later apologized and retreated to the more moderate position of the rest of the audience, that impeachment was stern enough treatment for Warren's alleged misdeeds.

Out of Dallas, Texas, came a well-printed weekly newsletter called *The Dan Smoot Report* that said solemnly that President John F. Kennedy is a product of Keynesian doctrines, which dominate Harvard University and are basically communism.

All across the country, Dr. Fred C. Schwarz, head of the booming Christian Anti-Communist Crusade, barnstormed from city to city carrying to huge rallies and "anti-communism schools" the message that the United States will be in the hands of the communists in 1973 unless national policies are radically altered.

Into Washington comes a flood of favorable letters encouraging Senator Barry Goldwater of Arizona, with his call for "total victory" over communism; Senator John Tower of Texas, with his denunciation of the Yugoslav pilot-training program; and Senator Strom Thurmond of South Carolina, with his charges that the Kennedy Administration is following a "no-win" policy toward communism.

A powerful tide of right-wing thought and action has been running through the country as a whole for about two years. It has yet to reach a high water mark.

Many different terms have been used to describe the movement. It has been called "ultra-conservatism" and the "ultra-right-wing movement." Some call it the "radical right," to emphasize the fundamental changes sought by many of its members and to carry the implication that they are not really conservatives at all. Alan Barth, writing in the *New York Times Magazine,* has used the term "rampageous right" to convey the idea of belligerence and lack of self control.

The term that will be used mostly here is the "far right." It is general enough to include a broad sweep of individuals and organizations—the educated and the ignorant, the sophisticated and the naive, the fair-minded and the bigoted, the law-abiding and the violent.

How can a collection that includes so many different types be given a name or considered a group at all? Dr. Schwarz suggests that it cannot, at least insofar as he is concerned; he thinks it unfair to call him a member of the "right," let alone the "ultra-right" or the "rampageous right." Barry Goldwater would like to be known as a plain, unhyphenated "conservative."

Despite their differences, those considered here to be on the far right are alike in their preoccupation with the threat of the Communist movement, especially as an internal threat to the United States government and institutions. They see welfare-state measures and the growth of federal power as steps toward socialism, which they tend to equate with communism.

Abroad, they tend to see all anti-Americanism, neutrality and even mere independent nationalism as signs of communist success in gobbling up the world.

In their opposition to this menace, they tend to regard every setback as the result of a conspiracy that is virtually omnipresent, omniscient and omnipotent. Opponents thus are seen as traitors or, at best, dupes of the conspiracy.

Another broad characteristic of the far right is a general hostility to the two-party system, an unwillingness to make the practical accommodations that enable the Democrats and the Republicans to get together every four years

on their respective nominees for President and Vice President.

Finally, the men of the far right see themselves as something of a group, sometimes trying to draw parts of the movement more closely together, sometimes ganging up on one of their number (as in the case of Robert Welch, head of the John Birch Society) who they think has gone too far and is damaging the movement.

Successful politicians are sometimes more difficult to classify according to these standards. The demands of practical politics smooth the rough edges of such men and train them to compromise, get along with their opponents, and smile when they disagree. One of these is Senator Goldwater. So far, for the most part, he has been a good soldier in the Republican Party. But there can be no doubt that his main strength through the country comes from the broad sweep of the far right. Given favorable circumstances one can visualize Goldwater leading a right-wing political crusade to take power from the moderates of the two established parties and impose its own brand of absolutism on domestic and foreign policies. He belongs on any list of men of the far right.

Three figures of speech can help describe the current right-wing movement.

First, as has been suggested, it is a spectrum, running through many shades of belief, strategy and tactics. It runs from the outer range of true conservatism to the wild-eyed vigilantes and fanatics at the outer edge. At the extreme, there are clear indications of a form of insanity, delusions of persecution. This is not to say that members of the far right are alike in the way they think or the way they act. What makes them a group is that they have major goals in common and, given the right circumstances, they could wield great power.

A second figure of speech that helps describe the right-wing resurgence is the reservoir from which the movement draws much of its strength. This reservoir is a number of small organizations and obscure individuals who have been working through the years to document, as they see it, the conspiracy that is trying to take over the United States and the entire world.

Like the burgeoning movement of today, this smaller

but continuing movement, also runs across a spectrum. But its spectrum is bunched at the extreme end. Its groups and individuals have been publishing hate-filled pamphlets, often containing a virulent anti-Semitic or anti-Catholic line. In recent years, they have drawn heavily on reports of the House Un-American Activities Committee for help in drawing up their blacklists. Some of them have shown a fascination with the Jewish origins of some of the persons they despise and have gone to great lengths to disclose any cases where a person has changed his name. One source of this anti-Semetic strain, thoroughly discredited but still being circulated, is the *Protocols of the Learned Elders of Zion,* a purported Jewish plan to control the world. Above all, these perennial extremists of the right have promoted a hatred and distrust of everything foreign—foreign governments, foreign trade, foreign thought and literature and especiallly immigration from foreign countries.

The third figure is, of course, the pendulum. Mass interest in extreme solutions has swung through the years sometimes to the left and sometimes to the right. After World War I, when "bolshevism" was a new and terrifying force in the world, a bitter anti-liberal campaign was waged, climaxed by the mass arrests by Attorney General A. Mitchell Palmer. The 1930s, during the great Depression, saw a swing to the left, in which the Communist Party grew in size, communist-front groups mushroomed, and it was the thing to do to talk extremism of the left.

Almost immediately after World War II, the pendulum swung back toward the right. Leftist groups abruptly lost their magic. Across the country, civic leaders suddenly found it acutely embarrassing to see their names still appearing on letterheads of organizations like the American-Soviet Friendship Council.

In part, this swing was recognition of reality. Competing national interests of the Soviet Union and the United States, glossed over in the wartime alliance, suddenly became painfully apparent again. An iron curtain quickly took shape along the line where the victorious armies of East and West had met. The Soviet Union showed no hesitancy to subvert and overthrow any governments that

showed inclinations toward independence on its side of the new line dividing the world.

Later, in the early 1950s, there came a witch-hunting phase that can be explained by the coincidence of the disclosure of Soviet espionage in this country, the jarring experience in Korea of a war without victory, and the appearance on the anti-communist scene of Senator Joseph R. McCarthy of Wisconsin. McCarthy's censure by the United States Senate and his subsequent decline and death seemed for a time to have marked an end to the era of "McCarthyism," which had become a bad word to most Americans and to much of the rest of the word.

But there were other national setbacks to come, and the pendulum in response, has swung even further right. This time, instead of a single principal leader, there are many leaders. The most extreme are safe in private life. No elected official—no Huey Long or Joseph McCarthy—has risked his future in conventional politics by committing himself fully to the unconventional political force of the resurgent far right.

Several events in the last few years have been profoundly disturbing to the habitual American confidence and optimism. Russia's first sputnik, followed by the Russian success in putting man into orbit for the first time, proved her capability to equal, and in some cases excel, the United States in technological fields where Americans had long taken their supremacy for granted. The Soviet intercontinental rockets, capable of carrying the nuclear bombs developed with surprising speed some years earlier, shifted the military balance, abruptly offsetting the strategic advantage of the ring of air bases of the United States and its allies around the Soviet perimeter.

The United Nations, always viewed with suspicion by the extreme right, changed from a body by and large under control of the Western allies to a huge parliament in which the United States could be outvoted.

Finally, the Monroe Doctrine, that comforting assurance that the Western Hemisphere could be maintained forever as a United States sphere of influence, was shattered by the emergence of a new and unapproved Cuban dictator who thumbed his nose at the United States and openly aligned himself with the Communist-bloc nations.

To cap the climax, an ill-concealed United States attempt to use Cuban refugees to invade Cuba and overthrow Fidel Castro's regime ended in humiliating defeat. As everyone keeps saying, there is still a communist state 90 miles off the coast of Florida.

The new young President, in his third month in office, was humiliated by the communists. The circumstances paralleled those of a communist humiliation of President Eisenhower a year earlier, after the U-2 photo-reconnaissance plane was shot down over Soviet territory. Mr. Eisenhower admitted spying and lying, and Soviet Premier Nikita S. Khrushchev used the incident to break up the Paris summit meeting.

As a result of these setbacks and humiliations, Americans were afflicted with an acute sense of unease. Things were going wrong, but no remedy was in sight. Always before, it seemed, war had been available as a last resort. Now, the atomic bomb and the hydrogen bomb had made World War III almost unthinkable. And small, conventional wars promised only a repetition of the Korean episode, with its problem of a privileged sanctuary that could be attacked only at the risk of triggering a major nuclear war.

One man who perceived this new sense of unease about America's future was Senator John F. Kennedy. Early in his campaign for the presidency, Kennedy found unexpected response to his assertion that Americans were too soft, that too many young men were being rejected for the draft, that there was too much attention to comfort and pleasure and not enough attention to production and progress.

An electric response that went through the audience in La Crosse, Wisconsin, where he first broached this thought, convinced him it was a powerful campaign issue. He carried the message everywhere, promising, if elected, to "get this country moving again." It was Kennedy's main campaign theme and became the climax of his inaugural address when he said, "Ask not what America will do for you—ask what you can do for your country."

President Kennedy has been trying, not always successfully, to restore American power and prestige. He called for increased military expenditures, ordered a stepped-up effort to send an American to the moon,

established the Peace Corps, and strongly promoted an Eisenhower Administration program for social and economic development in Latin America, calling it the Alliance for Progress. It remains to be seen whether he can instill a new spirit of hard work and self-sacrifice in the American people, but his efforts are in that direction.

Members of the resurgent far right look at the same set of problems and come up with different answers. In place of error, they see evil. In place of poor judgment, they see treason. In place of true Soviet advances competing successfully with an America that has some objective shortcomings, they see a treasonous domestic conspiracy subverting the United States in behalf of a foreign movement that could never accomplish anything except through fraud.

Contradicting the foremost American scientists, they insist that Yuri Gagarin and Gherman Titov, the first Soviet spacemen, did not really circle their earth and that their supposed flights were both elaborate hoaxes.

Impatient with laws and treaties, they call for sending United States Marines to Cuba to wipe out the Castro régime.

Many of their policies are pure negativism—just being against something. Most of the new far rightists are against the United Nations and want the United States to get out. Many are against the progressive income tax and want it eliminated or else limited to 25 per cent. They are against the Supreme Court and have settled on Chief Justice Earl Warren as their chief villain there, largely because he brought the court together in its unanimous decision in 1954 outlawing racial segregation in the public schools.

Tristram Coffin, writing in *The New Leader*, has called this and earlier rightward swings of the pendulum examples of "organized yahooism." In *Gulliver's Travels,* the Yahoos were a filthy race of brutes, having the form and all the vices of man. Coffin describes the latter-day yahoo as "a poor devil who burns with rage at fate for having cheated him; he hasn't the mind or knowledge or courage to figure out the causes of his misery, and is ready to believe a fiendish conspiracy is at work against him."

An early surge of yahooism was the Know-nothing Party of the 1850s, a secret political organization that

worked for stringent naturalization laws and the selection of only native Americans for public office. The name came from the members' pledge to keep the party secret and answer all inquiries by saying, "I know nothing."

A scar of the Know-nothings remains in Washington today—a change in the color at the 153-foot mark of the 550-foot Washington Monument. The secret movement elected governors in seven states, had a large membership in Congress, and enrolled President Millard Fillmore. Among other achievements, it halted construction of the monument in 1854, seizing on the fact that the Vatican had sent one of the many gift blocks of marble sent from abroad to be used in the structure.

A masked band of Know-nothings broke into a shed on the monument grounds, seized "that marble block from Rome" and dumped it into the Potomac. They also grabbed the records of the Monument Society, threw out its officers and declared themselves the only true patriots who knew how to revere George Washington. The incident halted the building of the Washington Monument for twenty-five years. When work was resumed, the builders could not duplicate the shade of marble used in the base.

After the Civil War, Southern whites and their allies organized the Ku Klux Klan. In the 1870s and 1880s, a number of nativist societies were formed pledged to defend Protestant America against Catholic immigrants. These included the Order of the American Union, the Order of the Little Red School House, the Templars of Liberty, the Get-There-America Benefit Association, the Red, White and Blue, and the American Protective Association.

The Russian Revolution and the growth of international communism seemed made to order as a permanent target for the far right. And ever since, the far right has taken a proprietary interest in the communist menace, ignoring the fact that the truly effective battles against the communists have been fought, here and abroad, by liberals and trade unionists in struggles for control of local political parties, and government administrations.

An important feature of the current swing to the right is its well-heeled look. Along with a sizable mass appeal, far-right organizations are attracting corporation executives, substantial small businessmen, physicians, attorneys

and other solid citizens. In many sections of the country, membership in the John Birch Society or participation in one of Dr. Schwarz's anti-communism schools has become highly reputable.

A further mark of this new reputability is the corporation financial support that has been going into ultra-rightist enterprises. The Lewis Food Co., which sells Dr. Ross Dog Food, has found it is good business to sponsor *The Dan Smoot Report* on television and radio stations. The Richfield Oil Co. joined Technicolor, Inc., and the Schick Safety Razor Co., a division of Eversharp, Inc., in sponsoring Dr. Schwarz's Hollywood Bowl rally on television.

Within the extreme right, there have been efforts to organize and co-ordinate the ultra-conservative movement. The John Birch Society sees itself as the rightful leader. The editors of the *National Review* have denounced Robert Welch, founder of the Birch Society, and tried to read him out of the movement, whereas Kent and Phoebe Courtney, of *The Independent American*, have hotly defended Welch and attempted to organize the far right with themselves among the leaders.

A more modest effort has been made by a Los Angeles group called Alert Americans Association, of Los Angeles, publisher of the *First National Directory of "Rightist" Groups, Publications and Some Individuals in the United States (and Some Foreign Countries)*. This is a list of 2096 entries, prefaced with the disclaimer saying that the listing of a name "does not imply acceptance of, or even concurrence with, its viewpoints by any other listed name —including that of the distributors." The one thing the listings have in common is said to be "that they all represent a protest of some sort to prevailing 'leftist' political and/or social trends."

From a less friendly point of view, the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith in New York has listed 282 organizations identified tentatively as belonging to the "radical right." Of these, 121 were organized in 1961. Only twenty of those listed today are survivors of the many ultra-rightist groups formed in the McCarthy era of the early 1950s.

Among those who have sensed the strength of the new far right is Senator Barry Goldwater. He has been dropping

hints that he sees a chance for himself of getting the 1964 Republican presidential nomination.

In his book, *Why Not Victory?*, he says conservatives have hidden under stones for too many years, as if they really believed they were the fossils the radicals said they were.

"Well—the fossils have climbed out from under the stones and brushed themselves off," he says. "They find to their astonishment that the radicals are really the ones in an advanced state of calcification and the conservatives—wonder of wonders—wear the new look.

"Something new that is also old is on the move in this land of ours. The rich traditions of the American past are reasserting themselves. It had to happen sooner or later."

My purpose here is to take a detailed look at some of the significant figures in this new movement. Some of those selected for discussion, like former Major General Edwin A. Walker, rose to prominence as possible right-wing leaders in the last year and have already faded into obscurity. Some, like Dr. Fred C. Schwarz and Dr. George S. Benson are still growing in strength and influence. Some of those to be mentioned are obscure but worth consideration because they have been important cogs in right-wing machines. Senators Tower and Goldwater and Thurmond are included as leading politicians who are riding the right-wing wave.

A final chapter will draw some conclusions about the present significance and the future possibilities of the extreme right as a force in American life.

## Chapter 2

# *Senator Barry Goldwater, Right-Wing Hope for '64*

> *"I am watching with growing hope and enthusiasm your political strategy. A great vacuum exists that you can fill. Never let up and never flinch. Dramatic and startling events lie just ahead."*
>
> —GENERAL DOUGLAS MACARTHUR,
> in a letter to Goldwater,
> February 3, 1961.

In the ten years since Barry Goldwater won election to the Senate from Arizona, he has been working diligently and with some success to become known as "Mr. Conservative." His obvious goal in recent years has been to take over the position that was held by the late Senator Robert A. Taft of Ohio—the strong-principled leader of conservatism in the Republican Party, widely regarded by friend and foe as having the utmost integrity and as being unwilling to make any concession to principle for the sake of transient political advantage.

But Goldwater's own flamboyant political mannerisms, together with the uncompromisingly hard line he takes against everything smacking of the welfare state at home and everything socialistic or communistic abroad, have made the title "Mr. Far Right" more appropriate in the view of many of his ultra-conservative supporters as well as many of his opponents.

Which title more accurately describes him could be of crucial importance in 1964, if Richard Nixon's return to California politics turns out to have reduced his appeal as a national figure, if Nelson Rockefeller continues to be

unpopular among the Republican professional politicians, if George Romney fails to develop into a suitable national figure and, above all, if John F. Kennedy's first term should prove sufficiently disappointing to make the 1964 Republican Presidential nomination an attractive proposition.

These are all big ifs at this writing (before Nixon meets his test in the California race for governor), but some things are running in Goldwater's favor. He has a devoted following throughout the country among those who think he could bring victory instead of a "long twilight struggle" in the cold war, who fear the growing power of big labor, and who hope for a reduction in the power and cost of the federal government.

What is more important, he is well liked by many of his party's professionals. They know that the handsome six-footer with the curly gray hair and flashing eyes is a hot political article, who can draw big crowds and arouse their enthusiasm. He proved himself to be a good soldier in politics in 1960 when he swallowed his own dissatisfaction with the liberalized Republican platform and whatever hopes he might have had for his own nomination and stumped hard for Nixon.

As for finances, he can count on generous contributions from ultra-conservative Texas oil men and from big business generally if he should show increasing prospects for the nomination. He must be counted a possibility for 1964 and again in 1968. His age also is in his favor. He is only fifty-three.

The man who has all these things going for him is the grandson of a Russian Jewish peddler, Michel (Big Mike) Goldwater, one of two brothers who immigrated to the gold town of Sonora, California, in 1854 and later founded the Goldwater family's general merchandising business in what is now Arizona.

Barry Goldwater was born on New Years Day, 1909, the son of "Big Mike's" youngest son, Baron, and Josephine Williams, a Nebraska girl who had gone to Arizona for her health and had met and married Baron Goldwater there. She was an Episcopalian, and she and her husband reared their children in the Episcopalian Church. Goldwater says he was told he was an Episcopalian before

he was told he was a Jew. He expresses pride in both sides of his family and has said he never has been discriminated against because he is part Jewish. But he also has asked in a plaintive tone, "Could a man named Goldwater be elected President?"

Until he was forty, Barry Goldwater was primarily a businessman. He quit school when his father died in 1929, after completing Staunton Military Academy in Lexington, Virginia, and spending part of a year at the University of Arizona, and went into the family stores. Among his achievements there were to promote "desert colors" and branding-iron designs for women's clothing and a novelty called "antsy-pants," men's shorts decorated with large red ants, which he advertised in the *New Yorker* magazine.

He was popular with his employes, practicing a paternalism that helped keep out union organizers as well as maintaining good morale in his work force. He set up the first health and hospitalization plan in any Phoenix mercantile firm, provided insurance and retirement benefits and ordered widows of deceased employes put on the payroll. He also formed a flying club for employes. In World War II, he operated a farm to help supply food for the men and women who worked in his stores.

Goldwater objects to being called a "millionaire department store owner." He estimates his own worth at no more than one fourth of that amount. He and a brother and sister own equal shares in the Goldwater stores in Phoenix, Prescott and Scottsdale, which do an annual gross business of $7,500,000, with an annual net profit of a little more than $100,000. The Senator draws only about $12,000 a year in dividends. His wife, the former Margaret Johnson, who came from Indiana, shared in the Borg-Warner fortune and thus has her own income. Their house outside of Phoenix cost $250,000.

There was a political, as well as a mercantile tradition in his family. Barry's Uncle Morris, Mike Goldwater's eldest son, was active in the family business, but he also was mayor of Prescott for twenty-three years and was elected to the Arizona territorial legislature, serving both as Speaker of the House and President of the Senate.

Morris was a Democrat, but what Barry considers a Jef-

fersonian Democrat, opposing a big central government, high taxes and federal "coddling" of the people. The Senator seemed closer to Jefferson in one respect in 1958 than he is now. He warned in a speech on May 3, 1958, of a growing, and rather evil, concentration of power in American business. He visualized a time when "the independent businessman will disappear, to be replaced by a managerial class operating the properties of gigantic corporate structures."

Three years later, on May 8, 1961, in a speech in Flint, Michigan, he defended big business as the only alternative to bigger and bigger government and the only satisfactory American answer to growing Soviet technological capability. There was not a word about the dangers of business monopoly except for a warning that the American Communist Party had made its central strategy the struggle against monopoly.

In some respects, Goldwater stands to the right of Taft, the man he has selected as his personal hero. Where Taft favored federal activity in the fields of education, health and housing—which he classed as matters affecting the necessities of life—Goldwater believes the federal government should stay out of even these areas.

Goldwater entered politics in 1949 almost by accident. He and a friend, Harry Rosensweig, took part in a movement among Phoenix businessmen to throw out a city administration they considered inefficient. Organizing a slate at the last minute, the two men found they lacked two candidates and had to put down their own names for two of the city council seats. Goldwater led the ticket, and Rosensweig was close behind.

The non-partisan election broadened the popularity of the forty-year-old merchant who had been named Phoenix's "Man of the Year" that year and who already had become known as a public-spirited citizen, something of a do-gooder, friendly toward his own employes, willing to give his name and money to campaigns for Indians' rights and Negro betterment.

In 1950, he and Howard Pyle, a crusading radio commentator, decided to test the Democrats' hold on Arizona. They agreed informally that Goldwater would run for the governorship in 1950 and then would back Pyle for the

United States Senate in 1952. Pyle, as it turned out, overshadowed Goldwater and won the nomination for governor. Goldwater managed Pyle's campaign, flying his own plane 50,000 miles. It was a spectacular effort, marked by the driving energy that has become Goldwater's trademark as a campaigner, and Pyle won.

Goldwater's turn came two years later. He defeated Democratic Senator Ernest W. McFarland by 7,000 votes, partly on the coat-tails of Dwight D. Eisenhower, then going into office in his first-term landslide, but partly through his own efforts.

Notwithstanding the fact that McFarland was a moderate and a conservative, no strong advocate of President Truman's Fair Deal, Goldwater pitched the campaign on what he called "the American idea against the socialist idea." His opponent was not McFarland but "Trumanism"—big spending, foreign aid, federal aid to education, and "coddling communists in government."

When it came time to run again, in 1958, Goldwater again used the broad-brush, oblique approach. This time, although his actual opponent again was McFarland, Goldwater chose to campaign against Walter Reuther, president of the United Auto Workers Union, whom he portrayed as a socialist, ignoring the fact that Reuther had driven the communists out of his union in 1947 in a courageous fight that set a pattern for postwar anti-communism in the union movement.

The Senate races were expensive. Goldwater reported spending $44,721 in 1952, to McFarland's $24,455. In 1958, Goldwater reported spending $202,717 to McFarland's $125,951. Goldwater attributed the increase to the spread of television campaigning and higher rates for newspaper advertising and radio time.

The presidency, of course, can cost far more in campaign expenses. Herbert C. Alexander, a political scientist, writing for the Brookings Institution, has estimated that John F. Kennedy spent $912,500 in 1959 and 1960 in his preconvention primary campaigning and quest for support of local Democratic leaders. This did not count expenditures by his relatives and by local committees.

As a Senator, Goldwater has built his career on campaigning and speech-making, rather than on a legislative

record. He makes about 400 speeches a year, addressing meetings all over the country. He averages about one speech a week to a student audience on a college or university campus.

These speeches interfere somewhat with his work in the Senate. He missed 58 out of 192 roll call votes in 1960, largely because of his speaking commitments outside of Washington. Among those he missed were such important votes as those on the civil rights bill, housing legislation and Latin-American aid. In 1961, he missed 65 out of 207 roll call votes, including those on increased defense expenditures, the $4.4 billion foreign aid authorization bill, a measure giving the President discretionary authority to extend economic aid to Poland and Yugoslavia, and a resolution against admission of mainland China to the United Nations.

But speech-making can be more important than a Senate voting record in building a national political reputation. With the speeches, his popularity grew. Senator William Proxmire, a liberal Democrat, who has accused Goldwater of trying to "roll back the twentieth century," speaks with awe of the personal following Goldwater has amassed in Wisconsin.

"Wisconsin visitors come to see me wearing Goldwater buttons," he has said. "Letters praising Goldwater come to me almost as frequently as letters in praise of Kennedy. The one senator Wisconsin students ask to meet is Goldwater."

While the things Goldwater says are not always pleasing to his fellow Republicans in the Senate, they mainly admire his energy and effectiveness as chairman of the Republican Senatorial Campaign Committee. When Senator Jacob K. Javits, a New York liberal, opposed Goldwater's reappointment, on the grounds that he was tagged as anti-labor, had given up on the Negro vote, was always condemning the liberals and wanted to appease Southern whites on the civil rights issue, other liberal Republicans agreed with Javits's objections but insisted that Goldwater be permitted to keep the job. The Republican Senatorial Conference unanimously adopted a resolution praising his "inspiring leadership, his tireless efforts and his dedicated devotion . . . to the Republican Party."

Senator J. William Fulbright, the Arkansas Democrat who heads the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, assailed Goldwater in a speech in 1961 as being no conservative at all, but a radical, who "paints a picture of virtue, morality, and conscience in the fuzziest generalities and a maze of inconsistencies. It is as appealing, and yet as unreal, as a mirage in the desert of his native state."

But among a sizeable number of American voters, largely the same ones who are attracted to the organizations and leaders of the far right, his generalities amount to a virile, optimistic view of an America that can win the cold war decisively and somehow return to a frontier life that seems in retrospect to have been a time of individual courage and self-reliance and self-confidence unmatched since.

Goldwater's relations with two of his friends on the far right must be considered in detail, because they have been important in shaping such chances as he has for the presidency in 1964 or thereafter.

The first is the late Senator Joseph R. McCarthy of Wisconsin, to whom Goldwater was too friendly and too loyal for his own political good. The second is Robert Welch, founder and head of the John Birch Society. Goldwater befriended him long enough to re-enforce the opposition of the liberals but eventually denounced him, to the dismay of the most extreme among the right-wingers.

McCarthy was well along in his career of demagogic anti-communism when Goldwater arrived in the Senate in 1953. Goldwater had a fundamental decency and amiability that set him apart from McCarthy, but Goldwater's insistence on a hard line against communism and anything he thought approached communism at home and abroad brought him into cooperation with McCarthy on the issue of anti-communism that McCarthy had staked out for himself.

By November, 1954, McCarthy had offended so many persons in the Senate itself that a move to censure him was in progress. He was, in effect, on trial for his political life. At one stage in the debate, Goldwater entered a stanch defense of his friend.

The immediate issue was whether McCarthy should be formally reproved by the Senate for remarks he had made about his fellow Senators. He had provided new

grounds for censureship by denouncing the special committee on censure as an "unwilling handmaiden" of the Communist Party—"the victim of a communist campaign; and having been victimized, it became the Communist Party's involuntary agent." He also had called Senator Robert C. Hendrickson, a New Jersey Republican, "a living miracle without brains or guts." Senators are inclined to be tolerant of harsh language, but not when it is aimed at one of their own members on the floor of their chamber.

In the background of these affronts to members of the Senate itself, was McCarthy's whole pattern of hit-and-run charges of subversion and treason based on hearsay, half-truths and innuendo.

Senator John C. Stennis of Mississippi posed the real issue by asking the Senate: "Is it sufficient answer to say, 'Joe McCarthy has done some good in hunting communists'? Shall we destroy what have been considered the necessary processes in carrying out one mission because a man has done good in another field, on another mission? I cannot assent to such an argument."

Goldwater struck first at what he called a "spectacle of cannibalism"—the Republican Party "busily chewing on itself."

Then he turned to the main point:

> We have been splitting hairs over technicalities and legal trivialities. I do not recall in any of the speeches that have been made, either for or against censure, any serious facing of the key question which we are called upon to settle in this session —the question of what will happen to America's fight against communism if the efforts of a man who has been active in the fight against this evil are repudiated.

In other words, the fight against communism must go on uncriticized, regardless of the tactics used by its self-appointed leaders. The end justified the means, he was saying.

Having stated this general defense, Goldwater was practical enough to suggest a compromise. He conceded that McCarthy, like everyone else, had made mistakes. He said: "If I were Joe, I would walk over to Bob [Hendrickson] and I would say, 'I am awfully sorry about what hap-

pened.' I would stand up and get it off my chest."

McCarthy would have none of this, but another chance came when he cut his hand on a glass tabletop and was rushed off to the naval hospital in Bethesda, Maryland. A recess was called.

Goldwater and Edward Bennett Williams, a Washington lawyer who was advising McCarthy, went to the hospital for a final try at persuading him to apologize to the Senators he had insulted. They found him under observation for a sudden infection that had developed.

The two visitors thought they had nearly talked him into signing a letter of apology when McCarthy suddenly threw a tantrum and accused them of being traitors to his cause, according to Goldwater's recollection. As Williams recalls it, the last chance ended when McCarthy refused to agree on a compromise resolution drafted by Senator Dirksen, in which the Senate would have stated its disapproval of McCarthy's actions but would have found that there were no Senate rules forbidding them. Williams says McCarthy refused to ask his supporters in the Senate to say they did not condone what he had done, because he knew they did condone and even approve it.

There was further debate, but the Senate eventually condemned McCarthy's actions by a vote of 67 to 22. McCarthy died not long afterward.

Goldwater continued his defense even after McCarthy's death, extolling him in a Senate speech on May 8, 1957, as "a fervently loyal and faithful American." Goldwater continued:

> He was neither a saint nor sinner, genius nor fool, martyr nor tyrant. He was an American and a United States Senator who represented his state and nation as well as he knew how. If that was not good enough for some, there are certainly others to whom his service was far more desirable than that which would have been dispatched by the subversive elements whom he ferreted out of our government. Because Joe McCarthy lived, we are a safer, freer, more vigilant nation today.

This steadfast support of McCarthy and what he stood for has marked Goldwater indelibly in the eyes of the many Americans, including liberal and moderate Republicans, to whom McCarthy and McCarthyism have be-

come bad words denoting an era of witch-hunting best left behind and forgotten.

When Robert Welch and his John Birch Society came to prominence, they confronted Goldwater with a somewhat similar problem. Welch came to be regarded as a fanatical latter-day McCarthy, certainly of comparable effectiveness in arousing people to the threat of a domestic communist conspiracy. There were two important differences, however, as far as Goldwater was concerned. Welch made no pretense of working within the Republican party; he lacked the capacity for accommodation that enables a political leader to work within the two-party system. The other distinction is that Robert Welch was not a member of the United States Senate.

Goldwater discussed the far right recently with Jack Bell, the author of *Mr. Conservative*: *Barry Goldwater,* an objective political profile of the Senator. Bell quotes Goldwater as denying any embarrassment at the support he has received from the extremist fringe:

> These people who constitute the extreme right are good people. They are generally fairly well-to-do people. They are very sincere in their beliefs.
>
> I spent a year talking to these groups to see if I couldn't reason with them by trying to point out that they couldn't get any place by isolating themselves, any more than the extreme leftists are getting any place by isolating themselves on the extreme left.
>
> I pointed out to them that it wasn't a case of compromising their principles, it was a case of getting together with the Republican Party as a whole and trying to change the party to their views. If they failed, then at election time they should get together with the other elements of the party and try to elect their candidate. Then they could branch out again and start fighting within the party.

Goldwater added, however, that he did not think he had made any progress in trying to bring such persons back into the party.

Welch had been a friend of the Goldwater family. Senator Goldwater was one of the first to know about Welch's *Black Book,* also called *The Politician,* in which he attacked President Eisenhower as "a dedicated, conscious agent of the communist conspiracy." Welch was visiting a brother of his in Arizona in 1956 and delivered a copy to

Goldwater's home. Goldwater recalls that he returned the book to Welch with the comment that if he could not prove every word of it he had better do one of two things, or preferably both—destroy all copies of the book and retract the statements that were contained in it. He says he told Welch that the statements were bound to be discovered and that, when they were, they would work a hardship on the people connected with him.

Goldwater has continued to regard Welch's movement as an important segment of the Republican potential vote. As the 1960 presidential campaign neared its end, Goldwater sent Leonard W. Hall a message on October 26, saying that "our man is in trouble" and reporting: "Conservatives of both parties are now speaking of staying home. They are being prodded in this by Dan Smoot and Bob Welch, each of whom has a large following." Goldwater proposed that Nixon toss a bone to the far right by coming out for the Connolly amendment to the World Court Treaty. This is the device by which the United States reserves the right to judge whether an issue is an internal matter and thus is not subject to World Court jurisdiction. Maintaining this reservation is a big issue among the right-wingers.

In the same message, Goldwater showed that as a practical politician he looks left as well as right—leftward as far, at least, as the Eisenhower wing of the Republican Party. He told Hall also that President Eisenhower would have to "get off the golf course" and campaign actively for Nixon.

Starting last year, when the Birch Society became a national issue, Goldwater was forced to take a position. A flurry of statements began when *Newsweek,* in its April 19, 1961, issue, quoted Goldwater as telling a Birch Society member: "If you want my advice, get rid of Bob Welch and every member who's after [Chief Justice] Warren."

Goldwater's office promptly issued a statement saying the Senator "absolutely does not remember saying anything like that to anyone."

By that time, a number of prominent Americans had been identified as Birchers, including two members of

Congress, John H. Rousselot and Edgar W. Hiestand, both California Republicans.

Goldwater said there would be "a lot of embarrassed people" in Congress if an investigation of the John Birch Society were launched. He said he knew "liberal Democrats as well as conservative Republicans" who belonged to the organization, but he never named them. As for Welch, Goldwater commented that he had said some "very unfortunate things" but added that "every man has a right to say Warren should be impeached." Goldwater said he disagreed with that conclusion but also disagreed with many of Warren's decisions.

At about the same time, Goldwater told an interviewer in Los Angeles that he was not then and never had been a member of the Birch Society. He added that he knew the type of person the organization had attracted in Phoenix "and I am impressed with them—they are the kind we need in politics."

On *Meet the Press,* November 19, 1961, Goldwater called Welch an "extremist" but added that Phoenix Birchers he knew "have not been what you might call avid followers of Mr. Welch—they have been interested in anti-communism, they have never backed a candidate, they have never taken a position on an issue, and I certainly couldn't consider these people dangerous."

He parried a question as to whether he would disavow the Birchers' support with Welch as their leader, saying that he had never known them to offer support to a candidate.

Goldwater says he cannot recall a $2,000 contribution Welch has claimed to have raised for Goldwater's 1958 senatorial campaign. The Senator says he once was asked to become a member of the Birch Society's national board but declined.

Early this year, Goldwater was more outspoken against Welch. An Associated Press dispatch quoted him Feb. 8, 1962, as saying that "conservatives must beat off the idiots that are always attracted to a movement in its beginnings" and replying, when asked if he was referring to the John Birch Society, "My chief objection to the John Birch Society is its leader. I wish he would step out."

Goldwater stated his position more formally in a letter

to the *National Review*, published Feb. 27, endorsing its editorial, "The Question of Robert Welch." Goldwater wrote in part:

> Mr. Welch is only one man and I do not believe his views, very far removed from reality and common sense as they are, represent the feelings of most members of the John Birch Society. At least they do not represent the convictions of John Birch members with whom I am acquainted in my home state of Arizona. Because of this, I believe the best thing Mr. Welch could do to serve the cause of anti-Communism in the United States would be to resign.
>
> I am sure you realize this is a difficult suggestion for me to make, for I am well acquainted with Mr. Welch's dedication. However, we cannot allow the emblem of irresponsibility to be attached to the conservative banner.

That stand, such as it was, cost Goldwater bitter criticism from some of those farthest to the right. Kent and Phoebe Courtney, proprietors of a flourishing far-right pamphleteering operation in New Orleans, already had accused him of being "tainted with socialism." Now they charged that he was against Welch only because Welch and his followers "could never be manipulated to suit the purposes of any political party which espoused and supported positions not in keeping with a strong anti-communist posture."

The more reputable far right, as represented by the *National Review*, also has been criticizing Goldwater lately. An editorial in the May 8, 1962, issue complains that he "has not emerged as a considerable parliamentary force" in Congress and that "his great triumphs are personal, and polemical, and are made mostly on the road, speaking, projecting his attractive personality."

A column by James Burnham in the same issue calls his behavior "abstract, episodic, sometimes giving an almost dilettantish impression." Burnham suggested he build up his stature by going, "with plenty of drums beating," to the Congo, Vietnam, India, Belgrade, or even Moscow. "He has not yet mounted the kind of focused, sustained campaign on a key issue—nuclear tests, Cuba, Berlin, UN bonds, disarmament or some other target of his choosing —that is the only way to exert significant influence on either public opinion or actual policy."

Goldwater's book *Why Not Victory?*, with its call for a policy of victory in the cold war, was good for a starter, said Burnham, but it "should be made the take-off for a long and serious operation by which Senator Goldwater can prove his right to be Commander-in-Chief."

Goldwater himself has said repeatedly that he is not seeking and will not seek the Republican nomination in 1964. He says he has neither the organization nor the finances. He also says he is fully occupied with being a Senator and chairman of the Senate Campaign Committee, intent on getting himself and other Republican Senators elected.

For all the criticisim from the far right, Goldwater is still its best hope for the next Presidential race. Richard Nixon's reluctant disavowal of the entire Birch movement in California, and Nelson Rockefeller's remaining liberalism despite his maneuverings toward a more conservative line, leave Goldwater with a solid hold on the conservative end of the Republican spectrum. George Romney has moved in the liberal direction, joining Nixon in a general denunciation of the Birch movement.

In present circumstances, the far right is difficult political ground to cultivate. A candidate who accepts Welch risks losing most moderates and liberals. A candidate who accepts the Birchers without Welch runs the same risk and encounters the troublesome problem of whether the two can be separated. But the candidate who denounces extremism in general runs the risk of losing the bulk of the far right.

Goldwater's advice to his followers, including the far right, has held to a consistent line. He has told them to work within the Republican Party even when they don't get their own way. That was his advice in 1960 at the Republican National Convention to his disheartened supporters who had been hoping without much foundation that he might be nominated. He asked that his name be withdrawn. Then he continued.

> This great Republican Party is our historical house. This is our home. Now some of us don't agree with every statement in the official platform of our party, but I might remind you that this is always true in every platform of an American political party.

> Both of the great historical parties represent a broad spectrum of views spread over a variety of individual and group convictions. Never are all of these views expressed totally and exclusively in the platform of either party.
>
> We can be absolutely sure of one thing. In spite of the individual points of difference, the Republican platform deserves the support of every American over the blueprint for socialism presented by the Democrats.

In correspondence with those who have urged him to lead a third party movement, he has warned that this "would inevitably lead to a fourth or fifth party, and we would wind up with a spectrum of political philosophies such as France experienced."

Such advice goes down hard with the far right. It expresses a spirit of practical compromise that does not suit the die-hard intransigence of those who see all problems in terms of an evil conspiracy centered in Washington and Moscow.

It seems a fair prediction that if Goldwater does find a place on the Republican national ticket, as presidential nominee or possibly as vice presidential running-mate for Rockefeller or someone else, he will turn out to be much more of a moderate than either his far-right followers or his liberal opponents could have imagined.

## Chapter 3

# *Senator Strom Thurmond: From Muzzle to Fizzle*

> *"The communists have kept us negotiating while they have been nibbling us to death ever since World War II."*
>
> —SENATOR THURMOND

In February, 1961, a United States Army officer, Brigadier General John W. White, submitted a speech for clearance to an office in the Pentagon known as the Directorate for Security Review, a subdivision of the Office of the Assistant Secretary of Defense for Public Affairs. It was prepared for delivery before a meeting called the National Security Forum in Columbus, Ohio, on March 3.

The speech contained an assertion that "victory on each of the battlefields of the cold war is essential to the survival of freedom."

Since the address had to do with foreign policy, the Pentagon officials sent it across the Potomac to the State Department for examination. Speech reviewers there censored out the word "victory" and substituted the phrase "defeat of communist aggression." The passage then read, "defeat of Communist aggression on each of the battlefields of the cold war is essential to the survival of freedom," and General White was free to deliver the revised speech.

The incident later became a prize example cited by Senator Strom Thurmond of South Carolina to prove his charge that United States military men were being "muzzled" when they wanted to speak out against communism. He said this was being done under a mysterious "no-

win" policy that was keeping the United States from doing its best in the cold war.

Thurmond was able to stir up enough trouble over the "muzzling" issue to persuade the Senate to authorize lengthy hearings into his charges and earmark $30,000 for the purpose. A special subcommittee of the Armed Services Committee was set up for the purpose, with Thurmond as a member and Senator John Stennis of Mississippi as chairman. From records of the Departments of Defense and State, they amassed hundreds of examples of speech censorship and compiled them in a book the size of the Manhattan telephone directory.

The mass of material was a measure not only of the extent of censorship but also of the tremendous amount of speech-making by military men. The Defense Department had been reviewing 1500 to 2000 speeches a year—about 30,000 typed pages—referring about half of them to the State Department for additional review there. A good share of the total was accounted for by one officer, Lieutenant General Arthur G. Trudeau, Army chief of research and development, who made an average of a speech a week; a Washington newspaper referred to him as the William Jennings Bryan of the Pentagon. Most of these speeches, incidentally, including those delivered by General Trudeau, were written by junior officers serving as ghost writers, a practice not limited to the military.

If the censorship of the White speech was a horrible example, at least until the full explanation was heard and digested, there were other, sillier instances of censorship. A speech by Major General Albert T. Wilson was changed to eliminate the words "the cold war" and substitute the ringing phrase, "international tension caused by the Sino-Soviet aggression or threat of aggression."

In another speech, General Wilson proposed to say, "I have come here to talk to you about war! I have come to talk to you about the ways of waging war!" A state Department censor changed this to: "I have come here to talk to you about defense! I have come to talk to you about some of the ways of military defense of our freedom!"

The silliest of all came when an officer proposed to say that the X-15, the high-speed, high-altitude research plane, "is the 'Man of War' of the stable of research air-

craft today." The censor called for a change and wrote in the margin, "Let's use another steed—Zev, Gallant Fox, etc., but not this one."

Not all of the speech reviewing could be dismissed as silly. Take this passage, censored from a speech submitted in August 1960, in the Eisenhower Administration, by Rear Admiral Claude V. Ricketts, director of the Strategic Plans Division, Office of the Chief of Naval Operations:

> The United States has always abhorred aggressive violence in international affairs, and we have tried in the past to stay away from quarrels. But at a sufficiently high threshold we have resorted to force. And so it must be now—that the world knows that there is some degree of provocation that will spur us to military action. The precise degree of provocation need not be known—in fact, it is best that it not be known. But it is important that we have, along with our military posture, the willingness to use it when the need to do so comes.

The State Department censor commented, "This is a woolly paragraph, which, if it has meaning, sounds provocative."

Behind all this was a serious problem that faced the Kennedy Administration when it came into office in January 1961. This was the participation by some military officers in extreme right-wing seminars, anti-communism schools and cold war seminars. They were doing so under a National Security Council directive issued in the summer of 1958, when Vice President Nixon had been attacked by Communist-directed mobs in South America, when a crisis in Lebanon seemed to be the result of Communist indirect aggression, and when Chinese Communist artillery fire had caused a new crisis over the coastal islands of Quemoy and Matsu.

Officers were urged to alert the general public, as well as men in their own commands. They began drawing on materials supplied by ultra-conservative organizations and taking part in local indoctrination projects ranging from practical instruction about communist propaganda and subversion all the way to tirades against supposed socialist tendencies in American life, including elements of the New Deal, the Fair Deal and eventually the New Frontier of President Kennedy.

Among those who became concerned about the mushrooming seminars and the role being played by military officers were two lawyers from Arkansas who worked in the New Senate Office Building, Robert M. Lowe, Senator J. William Fulbright's press secretary, and John H. Yingling, a few doors down the hall in the office of the Foreign Relations Committee, where he is a consultant. They talked about what they saw as an important problem, especially since some of the seminars were held in Arkansas and were drawing heavy attendance among fundamentalist religious groups there. They thought they saw the beginnings of something resembling the French army uprising in Algeria, a forerunner of the Secret Army Organization and an extreme example of what can happen when military officers turn as a group to factional politics.

Eventually, Lowe and Yingling spoke to Senator Fulbright about the matter, and he asked for a memorandum. Yingling wrote the memo, gathering material from many sources, including a file kept by Senator Joseph S. Clark of Pennsylvania of newspaper clippings about a "Fourth Dimensional Warfare Seminar" held in Pittsburgh on April 16, 1961, in which Adlai E. Stevenson, Ambassador to the United Nations, and George F. Kennan, Ambassador to Yugoslavia, were denounced by the principal speaker as some of President Kennedy's advisers whose philosophies on foreign affairs would "chill the typical American."

Senator Fulbright was impressed with the memorandum, mentioned it to Secretary of Defense Robert S. McNamara at a party and, at McNamara's request, sent it to him, with a copy to the President.

Word of the memorandum soon leaked out. Senator Thurmond and Senator Goldwater began attacking it, as well as new orders being issued by the Pentagon on military men's participation in political activities. The two Senators obtained a copy of the memorandum and inserted it in the Congressional Record without attaching Senator Fulbright's name to it. Mr. Fulbright himself inserted it in the record August 2, 1961.

These facts are worth recounting because false versions of the origin of the memorandum began circulating shortly. One story had it that Adam Yarmolinsky, a special assist-

ant to Secretary McNamara, had written it and planted it with Mr. Fulbright as an excuse for a crackdown on anti-communist activities.

A prologue to the hearings was provided by a long, intermittent Senate debate between Senator Fulbright on one side and Senators Thurmond and Goldwater on the other. Their central point of difference was whether, as the Fulbright memorandum put it, "the American people have little, if any, need to be alerted to the menace of the cold war"—whether, in short, the thing to do is set out to whip the Sino-Soviet bloc once and for all or to learn to live with a long, hard struggle with no end in sight.

The first course—aiming at prompt but undefined "victory" over the communists—is at the very core of the far-right movement. It is the attraction that holds together all the diverse elements of the extreme right, from the anti-Semitic and armed vigilante groups, through opponents of fluoridation and urban renewal and immigration, to the academically respectable research institutes formulating hard-line anti-communist strategy.

On the other side, supporting Fulbright, are those in a much wider range, who favor any degree of negotiation with the communist bloc, any effort at compromise or accommodation in the cold war or any moves toward disarmament or arms control.

President Kennedy, whose policies have been clearly along the latter lines, took open issue with the ultra-conservatives in a speech in Seattle. He called them "frustrated extremists who can not bear the long twilight struggle against the Communists."

The man who tried to make political capital out of this "censoring of victory" is a highly successful Southern politician distinguished chiefly by his vigor and self-confidence. Senator Thurmond's erect bearing and commanding tone of voice remind one that he is a major general in the Army Reserve. He volunteered for service in World War II the day war was declared against Germany, took part in the Normandy invasion and was awarded five battle stars and sixteen decorations. Strom is his mother's maiden name and is pronounced "Strum" in South Carolina.

His political enemies ridicule the fact that he once

stood on his head for a *Life* photographer, but for him the stunt was just part of a program of strenuous physical exercise. He still keeps bar bells and chest stretchers in his office and works out with them and does push-ups regularly. He often walks to the Senate from his home in the Foggy Bottom district of Washington, a distance of about three miles. He is 60 years old as of December 5, 1962.

In Thurmond's first year as Governor of South Carolina, 1947, he married his personal secretary, Miss Jean Crouch of Elko, South Carolina who had been selected as "Miss South Carolina" and was twenty-four years his junior. She died of a malignant brain tumor in 1960.

In 1957, he set a Senate record for non-stop talking. He held the floor for twenty-four hours and eighteen minutes to block a civil rights bill, breaking the previous record filibuster by Senator Wayne Morse of Oregon of twenty-two hours, twenty-six minutes in 1953.

Senator Thurmond's filibuster exhibited the "loner" quality that is part of his boundless self-confidence. His Southern colleagues had decided against trying to talk the bill to death, but Thurmond, to their surprise, went ahead on his own.

His self-confidence showed itself earlier when he first ran for major political office, the South Carolina governorship in 1946. He demanded the support of the two most powerful political leaders in the state, crashing a dinner party to accost one and stalking into the private office of the other to ask his backing. Both turned him down, but he won anyhow.

By South Carolina standards, Thurmond was a liberal governor. He came from Edgefield, a small town above the fall line, and attended Clemson college, then primarily an agricultural school. He was in the up-country populist tradition of the state. To this appeal, Thurmond added a skill in attracting support from diverse groups; he was helped to the governorship by the votes of textile workers as well as the contributions of textile mill owners. As governor, he demonstrated his progressivism by helping obtain enactment of a new and more just election law and advocating continued rent controls.

A South Carolina writer, George McMillan, observes, however, that Thurmond's liberalism went by the way of

much Southern liberalism and "boiled away in the crucible of the race problem." Southern resentment over President Truman's civil rights program came to a head with Mr. Truman's nomination in 1948, and the States Rights Democrats decided to break away and put up their own nominee. Thurmond accepted the nomination. He received 1,169,021 votes and carried four states—Alabama, Louisiana, Mississippi and South Carolina—with a total of 39 electoral votes. His supporters are fond of pointing out that a slight shift of votes in Ohio and California would have thrown the election into the United States House of Representatives for a selection among Truman, Thomas E. Dewey and Thurmond.

In moving from liberal governor to Dixiecrat Presidential candidate, however, he had to put together a new set of political friends. From the South Carolina textile workers, he moved for support to a motley array of white supremacists and tidelands oil lobbyists.

As his term as governor neared an end, he tried to unseat Senator Olin Johnston in the Democratic primary of 1950 but suffered his first defeat in his native state.

Another chance came in 1954, with the death of Senator Burnet R. Maybank. State Senator Edgar Brown was certified as the Democratic nominee for the vacant seat, an action that usually amounts to election in the one-party state, but there were charges that Brown had forced his way into the nomination. A wave of resentment became apparent, and Thurmond let it be known that he had received hundreds of telephone calls urging him to run as a write-in candidate. To the surprise of almost everyone, he won.

McMillan, writing afterward in the *New Republic,* attributed the victory to the growth of a new conservatism in South Carolina, led by the utilities, the textile mill owners, and the large real estate firms and enlisting almost the entire white collar class of the state. He observed that the new movement "wanted a kind of political organization and leadership which would not make, not be forced to make, the kind of compromises with national liberal administrations that the one-party Democratic system forced upon them."

McMillan made a further comment of significance in

Thurmond's latest venture into national affairs as the opponent of "muzzling." Thurmond's great handicap, said McMillan, was that "Strom believes everything he says. To a demagogue, this can be catastrophic."

If Thurmond is a demagogue, he showed up as a poor one in the long and loudly heralded muzzling hearings. Except for an auspicious start and a few dramatic high points, they were a box office flop.

The portents were all to the good. Thurmond's debate with Fulbright had stirred up the right wing throughout the country. A flood of letters to him and the Armed Services Committee persuaded the other members, most of them cool or lukewarm to the idea, to approve the formal hearings.

To help get the hearings started on the right track, Thurmond obtained the services of Roger Robb, the Washington attorney who had prosecuted the security case against J. Robert Oppenheimer for the Atomic Energy Commission in 1954.

Thurmond's investigation obtained procedurally correct co-operation from the Defense Department and the State Department. In addition, it had some whole-hearted help from some military officers who liked to see embarrassment for Secretary of Defense Robert S. McNamara. More than any of his predecessors, McNamara was trying to get a civilian grip on the Pentagon, on its spending, its lobbying, and its news leaks, as the individual services jockeyed for position in a rivalry that had never yet been curbed effectively. He and his civilian aides had made some enemies in the process.

An overflow crowd attended the opening session, in the big, marble-pillared caucus room of the Old Senate Office Building. This was the same room where the Army-McCarthy hearings were held in 1954.

Several circumstances offset those favorable omens and kept the great muzzling investigation from ever really getting off the ground.

First of all, there was the chairman, Senator John Stennis of Mississippi. "Judge" Stennis, a member of the Mississippi circuit bench for ten years before he went to the Senate in 1947, maintained a firm, judicial attitude when tempers threatened to flare up or when Thurmond showed

signs of badgering government witnesses. His preliminary decision, strongly backed by Senator Stuart Symington of Missouri, to ban television from the hearing chamber, did much to prevent sensationalism. On the third day, Stennis made it clear that Thurmond was not to read a fragment of a speech to a reviewing officer and demand a rapid-fire answer as to why it had been censored. Speaking in his resonant Southern drawl, Stennis laid down the law so gently no one could take offense. He said he was providing a "guide-line—not trying to lay down an arbitrary rule—" one that should "prevent a questioner from being cut off or a witness from being embarrassed." The guide-line was that the questioner must give a witness the time and place of a censored speech and something of the context when asking about a deletion. Sharpshooting was out.

Stennis was ably assisted by the subcommittee's chief counsel, James T. Kendall, who helped maintain a court-room atmosphere as he took his turn at questioning each witness.

Another thing that helped damp down the investigation was President Kennedy's firm decision not to let the subcommittee question individual censors about particular anti-communist statements they had deleted from speeches. He sent Secretary of Defense Robert S. McNamara as a surprise witness to read a presidential letter invoking executive privilege and directing all members of the Departments of Defense and State to withhold all testimony and documents that would "identify and hold accountable any individual with respect to any particular speech that he has reviewed." If the President had not acted, Thurmond might have turned up some censor with a background that could be made to sound subversive. The late Senator McCarthy had shown that the State Department, which has no automatic body of support as has most other departments, is an easy place for a witch hunt. Thurmond promptly tagged Mr. Kennedy's action "the executive Fifth Amendment" and said it was "one of the most dangerous acts any President has ever committed as President of the United States." But when Stennis accepted the White House plea, Thurmond did not appeal the ruling to the rest of the subcommittee. It was obvious the others were prepared to support Stennis.

Above all, the hearings soon became a bore. Even the middle-aged women with the badges stopped appearing in the hearing room. The material under discussion had a sameness about it, and Thurmond lacked the touch to arouse and sustain interest. He also lacked the killer instinct of a McCarthy.

As for the results of the hearings, few minds were changed on the central issue of whether the American people are sufficiently alerted to the menace of communism. But the two departments involved were forced to rethink their speech review procedures, cut out some of the bureaucratic nit-picking that passed for censorship, and develop more practical guides for the ghost writers who produce most of the speeches and for the underlings who review them.

The hearings also focused national attention on the question of how Americans should be educated about communism. Some schools had developed courses that accepted the far-right line that Russia is truly "at war" with the United States, working day and night to destroy it, and that no compromise or accommodation is possible in any phase of such a struggle.

Some educators now have warned lately, however, that if students are taught that democracy and communism are precise opposites like good and evil they will be ill-prepared to deal with Soviet accomplishments and to understand communism's appeal to the poor, the ignorant and the uncommitted of the world. They have pointed out that the black-and-white anti-communist courses fail to take into account such things as the reforms of the post-Stalin period in Russia, the stresses within the Soviet bloc and the different varieties of communism outside the bloc, as in Poland and Yugoslavia.

The difference in the two kinds of teaching about communism is the difference between propaganda and education.

One episode, which had its comic aspects but also marked a turning-point in the hearings, is worth telling in detail. It is the interrogation of a group of Marines by two zealots hired by Thurmond as investigators.

What happened, briefly, was this: The investigators quietly gave a group of Marines a written examination on

the fine points of communism. The ensuing uproar might never have occurred had it not been for some special circumstances. The investigators formulated the test question and gave the examination without the knowledge of Senator Stennis or James T. Kendall, chief counsel of the subcommittee. They quizzed a Marine education officer beforehand for two hours in front of a tape recorder. They refused to give Marine officers a copy of the questions. General David M. Shoup, Commandant of the Marine Corps, already had information, moreover, that a subcommittee staff member was trying to develop a case that Shoup, himself, was taking a "soft" line on communism.

The questions were hard. One of them called for a definition of dialectical materialism. If the Marines did poorly in the test, as they did, one obvious effect would be to contradict earlier testimony by General Shoup, who had told the subcommittee that his men were being adequately instructed about communism.

The investigators tried to have the Marines sign their names, so that any "leftist responses" could be reported to their superiors.

There was an inaccurate initial report that the Marines had been locked in the room while they took the test. Even without that added detail, the circumstances were such that it was not surprising that many persons considered the conduct of the investigators furtive and improper or that the phrase "Gestapo procedure" was used on the Senate floor in denouncing the episode.

Persons who knew about Thurmond's two special investigators should not have been surprised from the start that some sort of trouble would develop. As the facts of the Marine incident came out, they recalled to many observers the free-wheeling tactics used in the early 1950s by two investigators for the late Senator Joseph R. McCarthy of Wisconsin, Roy M. Cohn and G. David Schine.

The latter-day Cohn and Schine in the Thurmond retinue were Gunther (Gary) E. Hartel, a retired Army officer who remained active in the extreme right-wing movement, and a friend of his from Army intelligence work, Benjamin J. Kaplan.

Thurmond put Hartel on the staff of the subcommittee as

his own representative there. Hartel later brought Kaplan to Washington to help out. Kaplan even offered to pay his own way for the privilege of working on the investigation. As things turned out, he spent two weeks on Thurmond's staff, working mainly with Hartel, and earned a total of $84.

Hartel retired in February 1961 as a lieutenant colonel and spent a busy few months in the ultra-conservative movement before joining the subcommittee staff as Thurmond's man the following October.

Some of his right-wing activities were as vice president of the National Freedom Education Center of The King's College at Briarcliff Manor, N.Y. The institution is one of several small colleges, most of them with fundamentalist religious affiliations, that emphasizes extreme political conservatism. It was founded in 1938 in New Jersey and since 1955 has occupied a converted resort hotel in Westchester County overlooking the Hudson river.

A "statement of doctrine" adopted by the board of trustees says, "We believe in the bodily resurrection of the just and the unjust—the just going to everlasting blessedness in heaven with God, the unjust to everlasting punishment in hell."

Hartel employed a similar apocalyptic tone in a speech May 11, 1961, at the East Coast Freedom Forum II, held at The King's College under the sponsorship of its National Freedom Education Center. The Ossining *Citizen Register,* reporting his speech, said he "explained how American freedom of speech provides the communist propagandists with their most valuable weapon, citing how they pervert ads and texts in United States publications to deliver a subversive message to unthinking and unalert public." The account said he also described "the use of sex themes and pornography in books, films, the theater and television by communist writers and producers to debauch basic American decency."

News of the interrogation of the Marines broke in the afternoon papers of February 7, 1962. The incident became known in the worst possible light, as a helpless group of Marines being locked in a room and forced to take a secret examination and sign their names to it.

The next day, Senator Wayne Morse of Oregon led the

attack on the Senate floor. He called for a full investigation to see that "this kind of Gestapo procedure, if it is being conducted, is stopped forthwith."

Senator Stephen M. Young of Ohio jumped into the fray, calling the incident an example of "vigilante conduct" and "a matter of embarrassment to the Senate, an act of arrogance on the part of two employes of the Senate in utter disregard of the separation of powers principle provided by the Constitution of our country." He went on: "These men were seeking to play God with other people's patriotism. The conduct of these two men was fantastic —reminiscent of Hitler's Gestapo."

The chairman of the subcommittee, Senator John Stennis of Mississippi, proud of his habit of procedural correctness and deeply embarrassed over the incident, had already begun a full investigation and was ready to give the main facts of what had happened. He read the story into the record as fully as he knew it, starting with the text of the questionnaire, as follows:

INFORMATION QUESTIONNAIRE

Define the term "communist threat."

Is the international communist conspiracy a menace to all free people?

Do the communists operate against armed services? If so, how?

What is the Attorney General's list (EO 10450)?

What is a front organization?

Name three front organizations, and describe one.

Is there any difference between a civil rights organization and a subversive organization? Describe.

Name one pacifist organization and one civil rights organization.

Is there any difference between a conservative organization and a communist front group? Describe.

Name your two state Senators, your Representative, the President, Vice President, Secretary of State, and Secretary of Defense.

How many individuals are in the U.S. Senate?

What is the President's term of office? The Vice President's? Representatives?

Approximately how many people live in the United States? In Russia? Communist China? Cuba? France?

Do you agree with the saying, "From each according to his ability; to each according to his needs" If not, why not?

Describe the code of conduct.

How many hours of instruction were devoted to the code? What type of instruction do you receive?

Do you have a copy of the code of conduct with you?

If you were to be called upon to fight overseas, whom do you think we would fight?

Do you think you have sufficient knowledge of the enemy named in previous question?

Describe the American Nazi Party.

Who is George L. Rockwell?

Name any books, articles or movies, official or unofficial, which describe some aspect of communism, in which you have personal knowledge.

How many nations have fallen to communism since 1936?

Identify the following individuals and terms: Fidel Castro, Patrice Lumumba, Moise Tshombe, Gus Hall, Karl Marx, VI Lenin [sic], Frol Koslov, Das Kapital, Ming-se-Tung [sic], Chinese Commune, presidium, brainwashing, "The Worker," a publication, dialectical materialism.

How many hours of instruction do you receive concerning communism?

If you had more complete knowledge of enemy named above, do you think this would be an additional motivating factor for patriotic and devoted service?

How many hours of indoctrination (information and education) do you estimate are required of the Russian soldier?

If you had intimate knowledge of the Russsian soldier, as your opponent in the battlefield, would you hate, respect or fear him (choose)?

Name _____
(print)

Rank _____ Serial Number _____

Duty assignment

Years in service _____

Date and place of birth _____

Additional comments: _____

Signature _____

Next Senator Stennis read a memorandum dated the previous day from Secretary of the Navy Fred Korth to Secretary of Defense Robert S. McNamara, enclosing a memorandum from General Shoup, a chronology of the events of Feb. 1 and 2, and a memorandum by Lieutenant Colonel Hazel E. Benn, a Marine Corps education officer. Additional information was contained in a memorandum to Kendall from Charles A. Byrne, a General Accounting Office employe assigned temporarily to the Stennis subcommittee staff.

It now became known that Hartel had drawn up the examination, instructed Byrne to make the visit to the

Marine barracks, sent Kaplan along with him, suggested that they take along a tape recorder to use when interviewing Lieutenant Colonel Benn, and gave them word that they were to deny the Marine Corps request for a copy of the questionnaire.

Byrne and Kaplan arrived at the Marine barracks, at Henderson Hall, in Arlington, Va., on the morning of Feb. 1, having arranged two days earlier with a legislative liaison officer there to question five or six Marines on cold war information programs.

Lieutenant Colonel Benn became more and more concerned as the two men from Capitol Hill questioned her for two hours, when they asked for thirty Marines instead of the five or six they had first requested, and when she was asked to leave the room while the test was being given to the thirty-one enlisted men and two officers she eventually provided. She was especially concerned over plans to have each man sign his questionnaire; the investigators told her they would use the names "only where leftist responses appeared, and then it would be to alert the commanding officer."

By the next day, when Byrne arrived again at Henderson Hall to make inquiries about the cold war information program, Shoup had at last been told about what was going on. Officers asked Byrne for a copy of the questionnaire. He refused. When they asked Hartel directly later in the day, he also refused, saying it was "a matter of legislative privilege."

Shoup, in reporting the matter to the Secretary of the Navy, expressed his "strong disapproval of the action of certain Stennis subcommittee staff members." He said the Marine Corps had already had three visits from staff investigators and had given full cooperation. "These visits are time consuming and costly in terms of personnel utilization, and I seriously doubt that they serve any further truly useful purpose," he said. "I can assure you they do not for the Marine Corps. I believe in the area in question our goals are clear and our course properly charted."

The Commandant also questioned the value of the questionnaire:

> I am quick to admit that I am personally unable to fully answer all the questions. Yet as a man who has spent his

adult life in the military service of his country and who believes he is a loyal and patriotic American willing to fight and die for his country should the need again arise, I do not believe my ability, or that of any well-trained Marine to answer that questionnaire, has any particular bearing on the effectiveness of the Corps in its assigned mission. Therefore, I consider the questionnaire a needless waste of time.

Summing up his reaction, Shoup said:

Such actions as described herein can but cause wonderment among our Marines. I consider the manner in which this transpired to be detrimental to the morale of those whose morale I am responsible for.

Thurmond was outraged. He charged "smear" and said he had learned from certain members of the press that word of the incident had been given to the newspapers by Arthur Sylvester, Assistant Secretary of Defense for Public Affairs. Thurmond went on to say that he understood Sylvester had put out the word that "gestapo tactics" had been used, that the test had been given in secret, that the men had been forced to sign the questionnaire, and that the investigators had come from Thurmond's office.

Thurmond had reason to be upset. That same morning, after several days of unsuccessful negotiations, Secretary McNamara had come before the subcommittee, armed with a letter from President Kennedy, to invoke executive privilege and reject the subcommittee's request for opportunity to question individual censors about the particular speeches they had reviewed. The sudden outbreak of the Marine incident had crystallized the sentiment of other members in support of the President and against Thurmond.

Anyone who had watched Washington life for a while, particularly the way controversies flare up, would have joined him in suspecting that the timing of the disclosures of the Marine quiz was no accident.

Thurmond had a surprise in store for the Senate. He said he was prepared to explain why Hartel wanted to have someone go along with Byrne on his trip to the Marine barracks. The reason was that Hartel "did not want to have another incident such as the one which happened over there with him on November 28, 1961." Here is the way Thurmond told the story:

> Mr. Hartel and one other investigator went to the Marine Corps Headquarters, and while they were interviewing people there—they were later to see General Shoup, and they did—when one of them turned his head, somebody there opened his briefcase and removed a paper from it, a copy of which I hold in my hand.

This paper, which immediately became known in Washington as "the purloined letter," was a letter dated November 24, four days before it was supposed to have been stolen from the briefcase. It was to J. Fred Buzhardt, legislative assistant to Thurmond, from Paul A. Terry, director of the department of education of the Copley Newspapers, a strongly conservative chain with headquarters in San Diego, California.

It was in reply to a request from Buzhardt for leads that might be developed in the muzzling investigation. Terry listed a number of military officers he said had been asked to stop making talks against communism, including one Marine lieutenant colonel, and suggested possible witnesses for the public hearings. Terry reported also that a Marine officer, Major General V. H. Krulak, commander of the Marine Corps Recruit Depot at San Diego, operated the "one command in the area that has a good leadership program. Terry said he thought General Krulak would talk freely about a personal letter General Shoup had sent to his generals.

General Shoup somehow obtained a copy of Terry's letter. He sent a copy to Terry on January 20 with this brief note:

> My Dear Terry: Somehow I wonder whether the combination of Terry to Buzhardt to Hartel will be as effective as Tinker to Evers to Chance?
>
> David M. Shoup.
>
> P.S.—With copy of my personal letter enclosed, perhaps you need not embarrass Maj. Gen. Krulak.

Shoup's circular letter, which he had sent out March 6, 1961, pointed out that President Kennedy and Secretary of Defense McNamara had spoken of the need for speeches by military leaders to be co-ordinated with the State Department and the White House to avoid conflicts with current national policies. He asked all Marine officers

to use good judgment and refer any proposed speech, where there was doubt as to appropriateness, security or policy, to the next senior commander or to himself. Shoup's letter closed with these words: "I might add that during the past calendar year I made some fifty speeches in various parts of the country. In no case did I find it necessary to make disparaging remarks about the other services or to comment on matters that are properly the concern of the State Department, nor did I once use the word communist or communism."

Terry presumably thought this letter was improper in some way and would make a sensational disclosure. But not even Thurmond has criticized Shoup or the Marines.

Upon receiving Shoup's sarcastic note, Terry wrote to Thurmond, with a copy to Shoup, indicating he was upset to learn that Shoup had obtained a copy of his letter to Buzhardt. What is more, Terry's boss, James S. Copley, of the Copley Newspapers, was upset, too. He wrote to Shoup, saying he fully subscribed to the statements of Terry in his letter to Thurmond.

Terry told Thurmond he found it "most embarrassing" that his "personally expressed opinions in the letter might be considered to be those of the Copley Newspapers, the stationery of which I used as an employe in the organization's department of education." He said twice that he should not have used the Copley Newspapers' letterhead, adding: "The Copley Newspapers do not deal in inferences and are not a source of information for any other purpose than reporting the news." He went on to say that he had never spoken about the muzzling investigation with General Krulak or with two admirals mentioned in his original letter, and that he had "never received any communications relative to the content of my letter addressed to Mr. Buzhardt from any of the officers mentioned, or from any member of their respective commands."

In other words, Terry and his employer took the Copley Newspapers entirely out of the investigating business, at least insofar as muzzling was concerned.

One of the odd aspects of the "case of the purloined letter" was that apparently nobody reported the loss until Terry received Shoup's gibing note, nearly two months

after the letter allegedly was stolen from the briefcase.

Another odd aspect has been Thurmond's apparent complacency about the alleged theft. He indicated the day of the disclosure that he considered it outrageous and a week later asked Stennis for an investigation of the incident. But he has been silent on the subject since then and has not pressed for the investigation.

Several stories were told afterward as to what really had happened. One was that Hartel had left the Terry letter with Marine officers by mistake, with a batch of other documents. Another is that Hartel was indiscreet in handling obviously confidential correspondence and deliberately left the letter with the Marine officers to impress them with the sort of leads the subcommittee was getting. According to that account, Hartel was gone a half hour—long enough for the Marines to have a photostat made—and then returned and picked them up. The implication of this account is that someone fabricated the theft story in an effort to conceal Hartel's indiscretion.

As for the Marine Corps, from General Shoup on down, they have had nothing more to say, either.

The flurry over the quizzing of the Marines died down almost as quickly as it had arisen. Stennis ordered that all future outside investigations be cleared with the subcommittee's chief counsel. Hartel was reprimanded.

Kaplan left his temporary job with Thurmond to go to work as a technical editor for the Republic Aviation Corporation in New York. Discussing the episode afterward, he said he was upset by what he called distorted reports of the incident. He said he had received a concerned inquiry from his rabbi over the Senatorial complaints of "gestapo" tactics. Kaplan defended the use of the questionnaire and found Senators' criticisms unjust and even tragic. "If our Senators can't define dialectical materialism, our country is in a very bad way," he said.

## Chapter 4

### *Former Major General Edwin A. Walker, Self-Made Martyr*

> *"I was framed in a den of iniquity represented by a coexistence, 'no-win,' collaborating, soft-on-communism national policy."*
>
> —GENERAL WALKER

Two days of testimony by Edwin A. Walker before a Senate subcommittee last April all but ended his brief career as chief martyr of the American right-wing movement.

A year earlier, when Walker was a widely-respected major general abruptly relieved of his command of the Twenty-Fourth Division in Germany in a controversy over his anti-communist troop training program, he had seemed to many of the ultra-conservative groups to be the man on horseback they had been awaiting. To the more sophisticated right-wing leaders, however, it soon became clear that Walker was not the man for the job. Senator Strom Thurmond objected to having his "muzzling" hearings known as the "Walker hearings" and showed no great sense of urgency in calling Walker as a witness. In fact, without behind-the-scenes insistence by Senator Stuart Symington, it is doubtful that Walker would have been called at all.

When he finally did appear, after his resignation from the Army, he managed to put his worst foot forward. His rambling, sometimes almost incoherent testimony was full of unsubstantiated charges, emotional self-justification and references to mysterious and powerful forces that were persecuting him. He condemned books he had not read

and men whose names and positions he did not know clearly. All this was under gentle questioning by Senators who had no wish to humiliate a much-decorated officer who had risen to the rank of major general. After the appearance before the subcommittee, Thurmond seemed to emphasize the end of Walker as a right-wing symbol by turning his back on Walker's former aide in Germany, Major Arch Roberts, who wrote much of the material used in Walker's "pro-blue" anti-communist training program. Major Roberts was suspended by the Army and later stripped of his rank after his deliberate failure to submit his speech for advance clearance before addressing a convention of the Daughters of the American Revolution. His speech was a scurrilous attack on several reputable public officials. Thurmond would support neither the speech, which contained unsubstantiated charges of "leftist" leanings against the officials, nor Roberts's failure to seek Army clearance. The Senator said he could see no reason for the subcommittee to go into the case.

All that remained was for Walker to go through with his race for the Democratic nomination for Governor of Texas. His decision to run had been against the advice of Thurmond and Senator John Tower of Texas. In February, Young Americans for Freedom had given his entry into a political campaign as reason for withdrawing its invitation to address a conservative rally in Madison Square Garden. He lost, as had been expected.

Walker was born November 10, 1909 in Center Point, Texas. He was graduated from West Point in 1931 and began his military career as an artillery officer. He was a combat commander during World War II and in the Korean War. He holds the Silver Star and the Bronze Star with Oak Leaf Cluster.

His experiences in Korea were important in forming his ultra-conservative views. He felt strongly that the United States forces were operating under an unfair disadvantage in not being able to attack the source of North Korean support in Communist China, beyond the Yalu river. He attributed the restriction to sinister forces in the United States government and in the United Nations. He also appeared to be deeply influenced by the behavior of some American prisoners of war, who succumbed to communist

propaganda, informed on their fellow prisoners, made no effort to escape and co-operated with their captors beyond the international standard of giving only name, rank and serial number. He has said he joined the John Birch Society in 1959.

Major General Walker came to national attention when the April 16, 1961 issue of the *Overseas Weekly*, a newspaper published in Germany primarily for circulation among Americans living in Europe, carried an article containing a series of charges against him. The article said he had told an audience of two hundred parent-teacher association members at an American-operated school in Augsburg, Germany, that former President Harry S. Truman, former Secretary of State Dean Acheson. and Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt, widow of President Franklin D. Roosevelt, were "definitely pink." It said he also told the group that Edward R. Murrow, then an official of the Columbia Broadcasting System and now director of the United States Information Agency, Walter Lippmann, the columnnist, and Eric Sevareid, columnist and commentator, were "confirmed communists" and that 60 per cent of the American press, radio and television industry was communist controlled. The newspaper also accused Walker of distributing materials of the John Birch Society to his division and trying to influence his men to vote for conservative candidates in the 1960 elections.

It was brought out later that General Walker already had been given several warnings by his Army superiors. In August and October, 1960, and in March, 1961, he had been advised against extending his activities into political and related controversial areas.

With publication of the charges in the *Overseas Weekly*, the Army acted promptly. Lieutenant General Frederic J. Brown, commanding general of the Fifth Army Corps in Europe conducted a four-week investigation, in which 992 pages of testimony were taken from 40 witnesses and 229 exhibits were introduced in evidence. General Walker was represented by counsel, Lieutenant Colonel John H. Holbrook, and was permitted to introduce evidence and to testify in his own behalf.

The allegations stood up, except for minor inaccuracies. The magazine had the wrong name for the school where

the meeting was held, and the gathering was not a regular parent-teacher association meeting. General Walker apparently did not mention Walter Lippmann, but the newspaper neglected to report that Walker had included Walter Cronkite on his list of communist-influenced commentators.

General Brown reported the following conclusions:

a. General Walker did make derogatory remarks on the leftist influence or affiliation of Truman, Acheson, Eleanor Roosevelt, Murrow, Cronkite, and Sevareid on being communist-influenced and that he did state that 60 per cent of press and radio were communist-influenced in a speech before 200 members of division and dependents on or about 24 January 1960.

b. That from November 1959 to 15 October 1960, General Walker's personal program including speeches, speakers, circulation of books and periodicals and recommended reading was circumstantially, and possibly incidentally, similar to the John Birch Society action program. It was extensive but not compulsory. The troop involvement was limited to a six-hour presentation on 'Citizenship in Service,' which contained nothing directly attributable to the John Birch Society.

c. That the Pro-Blue Program established on 15 October 1960 is not attributable in any way to any program of the John Birch Society but directly responsive to Special Plan 308-USAREUR. Some material attributable to John Birch Society or recommended by them was used in implementation but only used in one instance (one troop information hour) in the Troop Information Program.

d. That subject to general conclusions a, b, and c, the allegations of the *Overseas Weekly* concerning General Walker as contained in the 16 April 1961 isssue of *Overseas Weekly* as corrected by 30 April 1961 edition, are substantially correct

That General Walker in violation of Army Regulations did editorially in an authorized Army newspaper advise use of voting materials not obtained through official sources, and did attempt by this means, personal talks and in at least one instance in the troop information hour to influence voting by recommending reference material that was conservatively biased.

f. That General Walker did personally execute a broad troop information and indoctrination effort within his command to include dependents and did not comply completely with the Army Regulations on troop information by making speeches, inflammatory and derogatory to past public officials, arranging for speakers who gave inflammatory speeches, quoting and recommending material which was in varying degrees nonfactual, biased and inflammatory in character under an assumed responsibility for psychological warfare prior to 15 October 1960.

The Acting Judge Advocate General of the Army, Major General Robert H. McCaw, later found that General Walker had violated the Hatch Act and related Army regulations by attempting to "influence voting in the national election in favor of an ultra-conservative point of view both with respect to foreign and domestic issues." He found also that the remarks about Truman, Acheson and the others could constitute a violation of Article 134 of the Uniform Code as "service discrediting or disruptive of military discipline."

General McCaw recommended against any formal prosecution of General Walker, pointing out that detailed evidence had not been developed and that many of the witnesses already were claiming difficulties of recollection. General McCaw went on:

> It is obvious that any trial for such violations would be a most difficult and prolonged undertaking, fraught with intense and emotional publicity, certainly unfavorable to the Government at least in part. A conviction would by no means be a certain result, and even if a conviction were obtained the sentence would probably amount to not more than a reprimand in view of General Walker's brilliant combat record and sincerity of purpose in attempting to fight communism.

Accordingly, General Walker was given an oral admonition, a form of rebuke short of punishment. This was upon recommendation of General Bruce C. Clarke, commander in chief of the U.S. Army Forces in Europe, reviewed and approved by the Secretary of the Army, the Chief of Staff of the Army, the Vice Chief of Staff of the Army, the Inspector General of the Army, and the Acting Judge Advocate General of the Army. General Walker was removed from his command and later ordered to a staff assignment at Army Pacific headquarters in Hawaii. On November 4, 1961, however, the Army accepted his resignation.

General Walker's long, rambling statement on his resignation from the Army probably did his cause more harm than good. He did not deal directly with the Army findings against him. He said he was taking leave of military service to "find other means of serving my country in the time of her great need, in order to pursue the dedication of a lifetime. To do this, I must be free from the power of little men who, in the name of my country, punish loyal

service to it." He went on to quote George Washington, an unnamed soldier in Germany, General Douglas MacArthur, Admiral C. Turner Joy, General Mark Clark, General John R. Deane, a California school superintendent named Dr. Max Rafferty, Dr. Charles Malik of Lebanon, and FBI director J. Edgar Hoover.

He recalled his command of federal troops in 1957 in the school desegregation incident at Little Rock, Arkansas, and said the episode was an example of special interest groups' prevailing upon civilian leaders to "employ our military forces on non-military adventures." He disclosed that he had submitted his resignation from the Army once before, on August 4, 1959, when he was commander of the Arkansas Military District and had been assigned to command the Twenty-Fourth division in Germany. He gave as his reason that "in my opinion the fifth column conspiracy and influence in the United States minimize or nullify the effectiveness of my ideals and principles, military mission and objectives and the necessary American public spirit to support sons and soldiers."

On April 4, 1962, Edwin A. Walker, now a civilian lecturer, fifty-two years old, and a candidate for the Democratic nomination for governor of his native Texas, appeared as a witness before the special Senate Armed Services subcommittee investigating the troop indoctrination program and charged that officers taking militant anti-communist positions were being "muzzled."

"I am Mr. General—Mr. Edwin A. Walker," he began. "I will be happy to be called "Mister."

The scene was the cavernous Caucus Room of the Old Senate Office Building, where nearly a decade earlier the late Senator Joseph R. McCarthy voiced similar charges of communist infiltration in high places in the United States government. As during the Army-McCarthy hearings, the room was jammed with spectators, predominately middle-aged and elderly women. Chairman Stennis used a loud gavel and a pencil ringing against a water glass to maintain strict order and quiet occasional murmurs of approval from the audience as Walker made his assertions. The only thing approaching a disturbance came when Capitol police removed George Lincoln Rockwell, head of

the American Nazi Party, after he had refused to take off a lapel swastika, emblem of his organization.

Walker faced the subcommittee from the witness table, where he sat flanked by two associates, who whispered advice to him and passed notes to him from time to time. One was Clyde Watts, an Oklahoma City attorney. The other was Medford Evans, Walker's campaign manager in his doomed race for the Democratic nomination for governor of Texas, and a Louisiana state endorser of the John Birch Society, as well as a contributing editor of *American Opinion,* a magazine published by Robert Welch, founder and boss of the John Birch Society.

Actions of the two men aroused some criticism from the Senators. Walker was told once that his own opinion was wanted, not that of his consultants. But on the whole he seemed to use them in the way many Congressional witnesses use counsel or consultants to refresh their memories or supply details needed in testimony.

In the eyes of the investigating Senators, the most serious charge against General Walker was that he tried to influence the votes of his men in the Twenty-Fourth Division in the Congressional campaign of 1960. He did so by inviting them to telephone "Flak Military 813," the number of a Special Projects Office he had established in April 1960 at his headquarters in Heidelberg. The arrangement was that they could check the names of the Senators and Representatives against a large spiral-bound notebook prepared by the conservative Americans for Constitutional Action. Evidence of this was read into the subcommittee record in the form of a column by General Walker, called the "Commanding General's Notebook," in the October 8, 1960, issue of the *Taro Leaf*, the official division newspaper.

> Even though you are in Europe [General Walker's column said], your references are available. One of the easiest ways of determining your Senator's or Congressmen's record is by consulting the ACA index. This carefully researched index to voting records has been prepared by the non-partisan Americans for Constitutional Action. A copy of this is available to you all. You can phone Flak Military 813 to have your representative's record determined before your vote is cast. When the American public understands the relationship of Con-

gressional voting records to national security, the cause of freedom will be revitalized.

You can understand this relationship, and you can display your understanding by first determining the issue, then the position of all candidates, and then by casting your absentee ballot in the freedom election.

Like a commander going into battle, General Walker went before the subcommittee prepared to defend his front, his flanks and his rear against this central charge that he gave his troops biased voting materials. He had bought copies of the ACA index, at fifteen dollars apiece, and sent them to a number of senior officers outside his command. From some, he was able to quote acknowledging letters expressing hearty thanks. General Lyman L. Lemnitzer, then Army Chief of Staff and later Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, said he had found the index "most interesting and useful." A letter from the Corps commander said he had found it "most interesting, very revealing in some areas" and added, "Thanks heaps for sending it."

He squirmed and twisted before he would admit that the index had a conservative bias, something he had conceded in the earlier Army investigation. He denied that the index could be considered "voting materials." He said there were only five calls to "Flak Military 813" from his 13,000 men. If he had violated the Hatch Act, he said, "somebody is criminally negligent for not having charged and tried me and found me guilty."

At this point, some facts should be stated about the ACA and its index, since neither the Army report nor the Senate investigation made it clear whether the index is, in fact, biased toward the right. Soon after Walker's political activities in Germany had been exposed, Lyle C. Wilson, chief of the Washington Bureau of United Press International, wrote that "the ACA is no John Birch Society. It is not primarily concerned with communism. The anxiety of ACA is about the Constitution of the United States." He described its rating standards as "rigidly conservative." Senator Karl Mundt of South Dakota put Wilson's column into the Congressional Record and said he believed most Americans, after reading it, would "agree that unless General Walker can successfully be

charged with something more improper than recommending the reading of the ACA Voting Index the Pentagon should apologize to him publicly and restore him to an important command position in keeping with his abilities and with his performance record." (This was two months before General Walker's resignation from the Army.)

Americans for Constitutional Action was founded as a deliberate counterfoil for the liberal but anti-communist Americans for Democratic Action. Its chairman is Ben Moreell, a retired Navy Admiral who has been active for many years in right-wing organizations. Associate trustees include former President Herbert Hoover; former governor Charles Edison of New Jersey; Edgar N. Eisenhower, a brother of the former President, and Loyd Wright, a former president of the American Bar Association. Moreell gave this explanation of the 1960 edition of the index, the edition circulated and recommended by General Walker:

> If anyone has wondered why the Socialist virus has been penetrating our oversized, centralized Government, resulting in higher and higher taxes, bigger and bigger public debt, and more people being pushed around by government than ever before in American history, he can find the answer in the ACA index.

Just as Americans for Democratic Action has a partisan bias toward the Democrats, Americans for Constitutional Action has a partisan bias toward the Republicans. There is nothing mysterious about these political leanings; the principles and goals of the two organizations generally conform to those of the controlling factions of the respective parties.

If there is any doubt that General Walker was incorrect when he called the ACA non-partisan, consider the ACA "consistency score" published in February 1962. This is the ACA's major index. It purports to measure the percentage of crucial roll call votes that show a member of Congress to be "for safeguarding the God-given dignity of the individual, and promoting sound economic growth, through strengthening Constitutional government; against collective morality, and a socialized economy through centralization of power." Members of the two houses of

Congress are listed in order of their percentage scores. Of the top 20 Senators, all but four are Republicans, and of those four all but one (Lausche of Ohio) are Southern Democrats. The bottom 43 on the Senate list are all Democrats. Reading from the top of the House of Representatives list, one must look at 84 Republicans before he comes to the first Democrat. Then he must look at 55 more names, nine of them Southern Democrats, before he comes to the first Northern Democrat. Working up from the bottom of the House list, one finds that the worst 172 by ACA standards are all Democrats.

Unfortunately for Walker, the subcommittee membership included several Senators whom the ACA had rated low. Henry M. Jackson of Washington was listed as 1 per cent, and Stuart Symington of Missouri was given 4 per cent. General Walker was asked by Senator Howard W. Cannon (Dem.) of Nevada whether Symington's 4 per cent meant that, in the opinion of the organization, he voted against the principles of the Constitution 96 per cent of the time and for them 4 per cent of the time on the selected issues. The General replied: "Each individual would have to make his own interpretation on that, Senator. I believe Senator Symington is in the Congress today, so he must have a large number of supporters, regardless of what his vote is."

It required persistent prodding by Senator E. L. (Bob) Bartlett of Alaska to lead Walker to say what he meant, if anything, when he spoke of a "real control apparatus" that secretly operates the nation's defense establishment and, among other things, "will not tolerate militant anti-communist leadership by a division commander."

Walker said he could not identify those who were completely in control of this mysterious apparatus but instead would name "individuals who appear to think on the same lines as the apparatus, which has been a 'no-win' policy." The only persons he named were Secretary of State Dean Rusk; Walt Rostow, chairman of the State Department's Policy Planning Council and Counselor of the department; Adam Yarmolinsky, a special assistant to the Secretary of Defense; and Arthur Sylvester, assistant secretary of defense for public affairs.

Walker's aim was bad, however. All four have leaned,

if at all, toward the so-called "hard" line in the cold war. Walker was confused, moreover, about Rostow, garbling even his name, as well as his position. Reading from a card, the witness stumbled over whether Walt Rostow should not really be called "Walter" and identified him as controlling the operating arm of Central Intelligence Agency since 1954. Rostow has never been in the CIA.

Senator Cannon and Senator Symington elicited Walker's admission that he had not read the books by Walter Millis, John Gunther, Max Lerner and Harry and Bonaro Overstreet, all of which he heartily condemned. Walker said he had read reviews of some of them and had listened to discussions of the authors and their points of view.

Walker linked himself with General Douglas MacArthur, the late Senator Joseph McCarthy, the late Secretary of Defense James Forrestal, Syngman Rhee, Chiang Kai-shek, and Moise Tshombe as some of the "untold thousands" who had been framed by a hidden, treasonous policy. He said:

> I want it perfectly clear that my complete testimony should conclude for all, as it certainly does for me, that I was framed in a den of iniquity represented by a coexistence, "no-win," collaborating, soft-on-communism national policy. This is the hidden State Department policy being implemented now by Mr. Rusk and being withheld from public view. It was the policy that I ran into head-on. The commissariat system is set up to insure conformance by our military to the soft, "no-win" policy. . . .
>
> I am signed up for the duration under the same oath and the same code, duty, honor, country, that I served for thirty years. I have found a new freedom, uncensored and unmuzzled among a host of dedicated, patriotic and militant Christians, willing to fight for the cause of freedom, sovereignty, constitutional government and independence.

When the two-day hearing was over, Walker showed the emotional strain of the experience by punching a small reporter in the eye.

The *National Review*, a leading voice of the far right, afterward commented, in its report from Washington, that Walker was vague about the details of his charges and at times was all but incoherent. Walker as a witness was described as "pitiful," and his testimony was "a painful experience for all concerned." William F. Buckley, Jr.,

concluded sorrowfully that Walker had made himself look foolish and that the general verdict was that he be "consigned to history's ashcan."

In the May primary in Texas, Walker ran sixth in the field of six candidates for the Democratic nomination. But the defeat was not completely discouraging to him. He drew ten per cent of the vote—twice what experienced observers had predicted. The election thus did not draw a clear double line under the new civilian career Walker planned for himself when he quit the Army to save the country.

## Chapter 5

### *Robert Welch and the John Birch Society*

> *"My firm belief that Dwight Eisenhower is a dedicated, conscious agent of the Communist conspiracy is based on an accumulation of detailed evidence so extensive and so palpable that it seems to me to put this conviction beyond any reasonable doubt."*
>
> —ROBERT WELCH

THE KEY to the John Birch Society—its hard-core spirit, its steadily mounting membership, its surge of national publicity, its unpopularity with some other right-wing groups, and possibly eventually a limit to its mass appeal —is a document variously titled *The Politician* and *The Black Book.*

It is a book-length "letter" written and widely circulated by Robert H. W. Welch, Jr., the retired Boston candy-maker who founded the semi-secret society and now operates it out of a headquarters office in Belmont, Massachusetts.

*The Politician* contains the attacks on President Dwight D. Eisenhower and other generally respected American figures that have come to be Welch's greatest strength and greatest weakness. They earned him national prominence, but at the price of harsh condemnation by a wide range of conservatives extending deep into the ultra-rightist end of the spectrum.

The attack on President Eisenhower begins on page 28 with these words:

> On January 20, 1953, Dwight Eisenhower was inaugurated as the thirty-fourth President of the United States. He thus

became, automatically and immediately, captain and quarterback of the free-world team, in the fight against communism. In our firm belief he had been planted in that position by the communists, for the purpose of throwing the game.

On page 210, Welch devoted a paragraph to the President's brother Milton, saying that "proof of his pro-communist leanings is implicit in his support of Owen Lattimore, and of others like him, at Johns Hopkins." He concludes: "In my opinion the chances are very strong that Milton Eisenhower is actually Dwight Eisenhower's superior and boss within the communist movement."

The crucial paragraph containing the accusation against the President appears on page 267 and is quoted here in full:

> At this stage of the manuscript, however, perhaps it is permissible for me to take just a couple of paragraphs to support my own belief. And it seems to me that the explanation of sheer political opportunism, to account for Eisenhower's communist-aiding career, stems merely from a deep-rooted aversion of any American to recognizing the horrible truth. Most of the doubters, who go all the way with me except to the final logical conclusion, appear to have no trouble whatever in suspecting that Milton Eisenhower is an outright communist. Yet they draw back from attaching the same suspicion to his brother, for no other real reason than that one is a professor and the other a President. While I, too, think that Milton Eisenhower is a communist, and has been for thirty years, this opinion is based largely on general circumstances of his conduct. But my firm belief that Dwight Eisenhower is a dedicated conscious agent of the communist conspiracy is based on an accumulation of detailed evidence so extensive and so palpable that it seems to me to put this conviction beyond any reasonable doubt.

Elaborating, Welch describes what he calls Mr. Eisenhower's "mentality of fanaticism" and says, "I personally think he has been sympathetic to ultimate communist aims, realistically willing to use communist means to help them achieve their goals, knowingly accepting and abiding by communist orders, and consciously serving the communist conspiracy for all of his adult life."

Other accusations contained in *The Black Book* are leveled at the late Secretary of State John Foster Dulles; his brother, Allen W. Dulles, then director of the Cen-

tral Intelligence Agency, and Earl Warren, Chief Justice of the United States. He calls them all knowing instruments of the communist conspiracy.

What sort of man could write and believe such stuff and at the same time have the mental balance to build and operate a national organization that has perhaps 60,000 members?

His own attitude toward *The Politician* gives an important clue. He insists that it was a "private letter" and that it was never published, but he does not deny its authenticity and, in fact, has implied that he continues to believe it spoke the candid truth. After the furor over newspaper reports quoting the charges against Mr. Eisenhower, Welch gave space in the May, 1961, issue of the monthly *Bulletin* of the John Birch Society to a discussion of "questions or criticism from some of our most loyal members" relating to *The Politician.* His reply was that "the considerations involved in connection with many such matters are varied, overlapping, involved, and with too many ramifications to be explained in short compass. There are even times when for reasons of strategy, we take an oblique approach to a specific objective, and fully to explain every step of our course would seriously handicap our effectiveness." He went on to suggest that the objections might turn into approval if he "could give . . . the whole background of events."

The same view of *The Politician* seems to have been held by a chapter leader asked by Jack Mabley of the *Chicago Daily News* if the book was given to all society members. The reply was that giving the book to members before they became "qualified" would be like telling a first-year medical student to go out and cure cancer.

In keeping with this realization that *The Black Book* is strong medicine, Welch has circulated it "privately" to hundreds of persons but has insisted it is not an official document.

Another clue to the man behind the John Birch Society is Welch's appearance and platform manner. He is slender, graying and earnest-appearing, with little about him to suggest the rabble-rouser or man of violence. He sometimes starts with a disarming jibe at the

widespread criticism that has been aimed at him. "I am worried," he told a Los Angeles audience, "about those of you who came just to see my horns. For, as the press has told you, I do wear horns. The horns are retractable."

He also told the audience that his six armed bodyguards had gotten lost and that when his wife packed his suitcase she had left out his brown shirts with black armbands. This, of course, was a reference to charges by Welch's critics that his John Birch Society contains the seeds of fascism.

The rest of his speech, the plodding reading of an hour or more of typed text, gives the impression of a man who is indefatigable, dedicated and quite fearless in calling the shots as he sees them.

Welch was born in 1899 on a farm in North Carolina. Most of his father's side of the family were either farmers or Baptist preachers who traced their lineage back to one Miles Welch, who came to this country from Wales in 1720.

He attended the University of North Carolina for four years and spent two years each at the United States Naval Academy and Harvard Law School. An autobiographical sketch says he also spent 40 years in the school of hard knocks.

He moved to Boston in 1919 and was in the candy manufacturing business there until his retirement in 1957. He became known as a successful sales and advertising executive, serving as vice president of the James O. Welch Company, headed by his brother.

He is married, and his wife works with him in the Society office in Belmont. They have two sons, Hillard W. Welch, an advertising man in Boston, and Robert Welch III, a chemist in New Jersey.

For many years, Welch was active in the National Association of Manufacturers. He was a member of its board of directors for seven years and served three years as New England vice president. He was chairman of the N.A.M. Educational Advisory Committee for two years.

The N.A.M. reacted with shock to the disclosures that Welch had attacked President Eisenhower. The organization adopted a resolution in September 1960 reafirming its confidence in Mr. Eisenhower and saying it "does

not and will not knowingly be associated with any individual or be a party to any organization that questions the loyalty and integrity of President Eisenhower or attempts to degrade the fundamental respect due him and his high office."

But in 1962 the Society still listed two former presidents of the National Association of Manufacturers as members of the Birch Society's National Council. They are William J. Grede, president of Grede Foundries, Inc., of Milwaukee, N.A.M. president in 1952, and Cola G. Parker of Neenah, Wisconsin, former president of the Kimberly-Clark Company and now United States employer delegate to the International Labor Organization, who headed the N.A.M. in 1956.

During his career as a businessman, Welch was also an extensive world traveler, speaker, author, editor and publisher. His published books include *The Road to Salesmanship* (1941), *May God Forgive Us* (1952), and *The Life of John Birch* (1954).

John Birch was a fundamentalist Baptist preacher from Georgia who became a missionary in China and later an intelligence officer with General Claire Chennault's forces in World War II. He helped General James Doolittle escape from China after the famous air raid on Tokyo. Captain Birch was shot and killed ten days after the end of the war in a Chinese village near Hsuchow. Five years later, Senator William F. Knowland (Rep.), California, then sometimes called the Senator from Formosa because of his support for the Nationalist China lobby, charged in a Senate speech that Birch had been murdered in cold blood by the Chinese communists.

Welch's book purports to be a documentation of that charge, as well as an exposé of a "cover-up" by the United States government in a policy of "appeasement" of Red China.

> It is clear [Welch wrote] that the communists, high and low, recognized John Birch as standing for America, for Christianity, and as the very embodiment of those qualities and forces which were in their war . . . He was the first, or very nearly the first, casualty in American uniform in a war still being waged . . . With his death and in his death the battle lines were drawn, in a struggle from which either communism or

Christian-style civilization must emerge with one completely triumphant and the other completely destroyed.

Controversy has arisen since then over the circumstances and meaning of Birch's death. Joseph S. Sample, now a Billings, Montana, radio station executive, said he knew Birch in China and declared there was "no real object lesson" and "certainly no glory" in his death. Sample said Birch died on a mission in central China that should have been routine except that it met a force of Chinese communists. They had probably never seen Americans before and were understandably disturbed by what seemed to them an unwarranted intrusion into their area and demanded an explanation, he said. Sample said Captain Birch chose to attempt to bluff his way out of a difficult situation, using harsh words and insults, and in a fit of rage the Chinese communist leader shot Birch.

Another wartime associate of Birch, Gus Krause of Pasadena, California, agreed, saying Birch put the Chinese officer in a position "where he almost had to shoot him to save face." Krause said survivors of Birch's patrol mission agreed that "if he would have kept his mouth shut he would have been all right." He called Birch "a real fine gentleman" but said he was "pretty forward and spoke harshly with the Chinese," who "would fire at the drop of a handkerchief."

An opposite but unsupported assertion came from William P. Weiss, of Alhambra, California, now an army reserve lieutenant colonel, who said he prepared the Offices of Strategic Services mission on which Birch was killed. Weiss said he disagreed with Sample, adding that "certainly John was just as much a hero as any other American who died for his country." He said, "Birch was the first American martyred by the communists. He was an unfortunate victim of particular circumstances."

Major General (later General) Albert C. Wedemeyer, American commander in China at the time of Birch's death, said the incident occurred because of Birch's "arrogant behavior toward a communist patrol."

Be that as it may, Welch took Birch as his ideal expression of Americanism. He retired from business in

1957, in order, as he puts it, "to devote practically all of my time and energy to the anti-communist cause." He continued to publish a monthly magazine, *One Man's Opinion*, which he had started several years earlier, changing its name in February, 1958, to *American Opinion*. It is now the official publication of the John Birch Society.

Regardless of the disagreement over the meaning of John Birch's death, Birch's own parents appear willing enough to accept Welch's compliment. The parents, Mr. and Mrs. George Birch of Macon, Georgia, became active members of their local chapter of the John Birch Society.

The Society was founded at a meeting of eleven men whom Welch called together at a hotel in Indianapolis, December 8 and 9, 1958. Their names have been kept secret. Welch has described them since as "influential and very busy men" and has said that one came from Oregon, one from Kansas, one from Missouri, two from Wisconsin, one from Illinois, one from Indiana, one from Tennessee, one from Virginia, and two from Massachusetts.

For the full two days, Welch talked, with short breaks only for coffee, lunch and brief discussion periods. He outlined his views on the communist menace, his thesis that a great conspiracy at home was giving the country to the Reds and his plans for a semi-secret organization that soon would have one million members. A transcript of his "presentation" is published at two dollars a copy as the Bible of the Society.

Within two years, the organization had working chapters in thirty-four states and members of the home chapter in Belmont, Massachusetts, scattered through all fifty states. Membership now has probably reached about 60,000, in about 500 chapters distributed across the nation but concentrated in traditional centers of religious fundamentalism like Houston, Los Angeles, Nashville, Wichita and Boston.

Its annual income from dues has been estimated at $1,300,000, with an additional $300,000 a year coming from thousand-dollar life memberships, special donations by wealthy supporters, and sales of Society literature. It says it has forty-one staff workers in the home

office, thirty-five traveling co-ordinators on full salary with expenses paid, and one hundred partly paid or volunteer co-ordinators.

An amazingly broad impact of the society has been inferred from an April, 1960, Gallup poll by Alan F. Westin, an associate professor of public law and government at Columbia University. The poll asked a nationwide sample of Americans whether they had heard of the John Birch Society and found that 39,000,000 persons had read or heard of it. Of these, 47 per cent had an unfavorable estimate of the society, 8 per cent were favorable, and 45 per cent had not yet reached a judgment.

In one sense, these figures could be taken as a firm rejection of the Birchers by most Americans. In another, however, they showed that 3,000,000 Americans considered that the society was a commendable, patriotic, anti-communist organization—this at a time when newspapers and television and radio reports had been spreading the disclosure that the society's founder had called President Eisenhower "a dedicated, conscious agent of the communist conspiracy."

Westin, writing in the magazine *Commentary* for August, 1961, has provided one of the best analyses of the policy and program of Welch and his society. From a study of its official materials, as well as speeches by Welch and members of the society's National Council, Westin had drawn these main conclusions:

1. The society's image of world events and American politics is "wholly conspiratorial."

Welch says in the society *Bulletin* for July, 1960, that the "key" to the advance of world communism "is treason right within our government and the place to find it is right in Washington." In January, 1961, Welch said that "communist influences are now in almost complete control of our Federal Government."

In each year since 1958, Welch and his "board of experts" have published a "scoreboard" rating all the nations of the world according to the "present degree of communist influence and control over the economic and political affairs" of the country. In 1958, the United States was rated as 20-40 per cent under communist con-

trol; in 1959; 30-50 per cent; and in 1960, 40-60 per cent. England's rating climbed from 20-40 per cent in 1958 to 50-70 per cent in 1960. Israel is rated as 40-60 per cent communist-controlled. Egypt is rated as 80-100 per cent.

Welch has blamed the communists for the closing of the banks in 1933, the concept of foreign aid, desegregation troubles in the South, creation of the Federal Reserve System, and even legislation requiring registration of privately-owned firearms, as a communist device to facilitate their ultimate seizure by a red-infiltrated government in Washington.

To avoid making outright charges of communism, he often applies the term "comsymps" (communist sympathizers) to those with whom he disagrees.

2. The Birchers "impugn the integrity and patriotism of those at the head of the major social and economic groups of the nation."

In the February, 1961, *Bulletin*, Welch announced that "communist influences" were "very powerful in the top echelons of our educational system, our labor-union organizations, many of our religious organizations, and of almost every important segment of our national life. Insidiously but rapidly the communists are now reaching the tentacles of their conspiracy downward throughout the whole social, economic and political pyramid." He has denounced, as communist-influenced and of unreliable patriotism, the National Council of Churches of Christ, "high army circles," the American Medical Association, the United States Chamber of Commerce, and leadership of universities, corporations, foundations and the press, radio and television.

3. The Birchers are "convinced that the communists have gone so far in penetrating American politics that there is little hope in the existing political system."

Welch has said repeatedly that the communists control both major political parties. He found John F. Kennedy's presidential campaign speeches to express "the exact communist line."

4. "Most of the Birch Society's positive program consists of advocating the repeal of things or the removal of the nation from something or somewhere."

In other words, the program is almost totally negative. The society opposes, as wicked, communistic and dangerous, United States membership in the United Nations, the other international agences affiliated with the UN, reciprocal trade agreements, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, "so-called defense spending," all foreign aid, diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union and all other communist nations, the National Labor Relations Act, social security, the graduated income tax, the Rural Electrification Administration, the Reconstruction Finance Corporation, the Tennessee Valley Authority, government wage and price controls, "forced integration," United States government bonds, the Federal Reserve System, urban renewal, fluoridation, the corporate dividend tax, federal aid to housing, and all programs "regimenting" farmers.

Professor Westin points out that some items on this list may be opposed by conservatives or by liberals but that, taken together, "it adds up to a nihilist's plea for the repeal of industrialism and the abolition of international politics." He observes: "Such a program can be called rational or even political only by people who do not know what those words mean."

5. Finally, "the Birch Society advocates both 'direct action' and 'dirty tactics' to 'break the grip of the communist conspiracy.' "

Through the monthly *Bulletin,* Welch sends out a stream of directives for national and local "action programs." Local programs include infiltration of the Parent-Teacher Associations to "take them away from the communists;" harassment of "pro-communist" speakers at church meetings, political gatherings and public forums; creation of local front groups (such as the Committee Against Summit Entanglements, College Graduates against Educating Traitors at Government Expense, the Committee to Impeach Earl Warren, and the Committee to Investigate Communist Influences at Vassar College); letter and telephone campaigns to local public officials, leading citizens and newspapers thanking those who support Birchist programs and berating those who do not, and monthly telephone calls to local public

libraries to see that they have copies of the five right-wing books recommended by Welch every month.

Among national campaigns have been written and personal demands to major air lines that they stock *Human Events* and *National Review* on their planes; circulating petitions and writing letters insisting on the impeachment of Chief Justice Warren; sending postcards to then Secretary of State Christian A. Herter saying, "Castro is a communist. Trujillo is an anti-communist. Whose side are you on?"; and sending cards to President Eisenhower on the eve of the scheduled 1960 summit conference, saying, "Dear President Eisenhower—If you go, don't come back."

The ouster of Chief Justice Earl Warren is a primary and long-time aim of the John Birch Society. Welch announced a contest in Tulsa on August 4, 1961, with $2300 in prizes for the best essays on "grounds for the impeachment" of the Chief Justice. Welch said the contest was open to all United States college students. In May, 1962, Welch repeated the call for Warren's impeachment in a speech before the Chicago Executives Club. The audience of 1500 business and professional men applauded the demand. Welch did not accuse the Chief Justice of being a communist, explaining, "We never have accused Warren of anything but violation of his oath of office to uphold the Constitution."

The society charges dues of $24 a year for men and $12 a year for women. Life membership is $1000. The official application contains the statement that the applicant agrees "that my membership may be revoked at any time, by a duly appointed officer of the society, without the reason being stated, on refund of the pro rata part of my dues paid in advance."

The authoritarian character of the John Birch Society is made clear by Welch in the *Blue Book*. He says: "The John Birch Society is to be a monolithic body . . . [It] will operate under completely authoritative control at all levels. The fear of tyrannical oppression of individuals, and other arguments against the authoritative structure in the form of government, have little bearing on the case of a voluntary association, where the authoritative power can be exercised and enforced

only by persuasion. And what little validity they do have is outweighed by the advantages of firm and positive direction of the society's energies . . . As I have said before, no collection of debating societies is ever going to stop the communist conspiracy from taking us over, and I have no intention of adding another frustrated group to their number."

Books sent out to chapter leaders from the home office bear either blue or red labels. Blue means a book is approved, possibly with the same connotation as the "pro-blue" program that Major General Edwin A. Walker set up to teach his extremist brand of anti-communism to his troops in Germany. Red means "not approved," although Welch explains carefully that such a book "will not necessarily be pro-communist in whole or even in part."

The society thus far has been successful in attracting some highly substantial figures in local communities. These include physicians, stockbrokers, retired military officers, and businessmen (particularly small and middle-sized manufacturers in the Middle West and South).

Members of the Society's Council, as published by the society in 1962, include Dr. N. E. Adamson, Jr., a Boston surgeon, assistant medical director of the New England Mutual Life Insurance Company; Thomas J. Anderson, editor and co-publisher of *Farm and Ranch;* T. Coleman Andrews, former United States Commissioner of Internal Revenue; John T. Beatty, former president of the Chicago Employers Association; Spruille Braden, former ambassador to Argentina; Colonel Lawrence E. Bunker, former personal aide to General Douglas MacArthur; E. Gano Chance, of Centralia, Missouri, president of A. B. Chance Co., manufacturer of electric transmission and distribution equipment; Ralph E. Davis, president of the General Plant Protection Corporation of Los Angeles; S. M. Draskovich, editor-in-chief of *Srpska Borba* (The Serbian Struggle), a weekly Chicago newspaper; William J. Grede, president of Grede Foundries, Inc., of Milwaukee; A. G. Hensohn, Jr., president of Cherokee Mills, Sevierville, Tennessee; Fred C. Koch, president of the Rock Island Oil and Refining Company, Wichita, Kansas; Clarence

Manion, former Dean of Notre Dame Law School and now proprietor of the Manion Forum, a right-wing radio enterprise; Frank E. Masland, Jr., president of C. H. Masland & Sons, carpet manufacturers, of Carlisle, Pennsylvania; W. B. McMillan, president of the Hussmann Refrigerator Company, St. Louis, Missouri; Revilo P. Oliver, professor of classical languages and literatures at the University of Illinois; Cola G. Parker, former president of the Kimberly-Clark Company; M. T. Phelps, chief justice of the Supreme Court of Arizona; Louis Ruthenburg, board of chairman of Servel, Inc., of Evansville, Indiana; Robert W. Stoddard, president of the Wyman-Gordon Company, Worcester, Massachusetts; Lieutenant General Charles B. Stone, USAF (ret.), board chairman and chief executive officer of the United States Leasing Company, San Francisco, and Paul H. Talbert, an insurance executive in Beverly Hills, California.

Among contributing editors and members of the editorial advisory committee for *American Opinion* are J. B. Matthews, William S. Schlamm, J. Bracken Lee, Ludwig von Mises, Adolph Menjou, J. Howard Pew, and (formerly) General Albert C. Wedemeyer.

Welch's literature and the membership of his society suggests that his principal appeal is to what politicians have come to refer to as the WASP group. WASP is an acronym for white Anglo-Saxon Protestants.

He has claimed several times, however, that he has a sizable Roman Catholic membership, doubtless largely among the supporters of the late Senator Joseph R. McCarthy, which was strong in the Boston area where Welch has his headquarters. One instance of this claim was in his reply to a Bircher who proposed that the society join something called "the Deport-Cardinal-Spellman Movement." Welch wrote back: "About 40 per cent of our members throughout the country, 50 per cent of our field staff, and 60 per cent of our office staff are Catholics, and since some of our strongest and most courageous support in our total fight against the communists comes from high ranking, patriotic and very wonderful members of the Catholic hierarchy, we cannot agree with your letter or your contention in the

slightest degree." Welch also canceled the man's membership in the Birch Society.

The society also published a letter in early 1961 by Richard Cardinal Cushing, Roman Catholic Archbishop of Boston, praising Welch as a "dedicated anti-communist" and endorsing the society. The letter was dated April 28, 1960, some time before the nature of the society's activities had become generally known. The Cardinal later confirmed that he had written the letter but added that he intended to look further into the society's operation. He said he had met Welch only once or twice a few years earlier and did not know anything about the society. He said he was impressed with Welch's anti-communist attitude but added that, "if he's going to be attacking people, I'm just going to withdraw my name."

Since then, a number of Roman Catholic leaders have attacked the society. The magazine *Ave Maria,* edited by the Holy Cross Fathers and published at Notre Dame University, has called the society part of a "dangerously un-Christian movement which bodes no good for the cause of true anti-communism." An editorial in the Jesuit weekly *America* said it could "hardly conceive of a more singularly ineffective way of fighting communism" than the Birch Society program. Archbishop William E. Cousins of Milwaukee, episcopal chairman of the Social Action Department of the National Catholic Welfare Conference, told the annual meeting of Roman Catholic bishops of the United States in November 1961, that some anti-communist organizations were diverting attention from critical communist gains in Asia, Africa and Latin America and were "unwittingly aiding the communist cause by dividing and confusing Americans."

Archbishop Cousin's report criticized these "extremists" on four grounds: First, "they emphasize the danger of domestic subversion and give little attention to the worldwide activities of communist parties." Second, "they often consider as communist views and positions that most Americans consider as legitimate, if controversial, political attitudes." Third, "they tend to label individuals as pro-communist or communist and to harass and persecute such individuals." Fourth, "some of these

groups openly profess to use tactics and methods borrowed from the Communist Party." The report did not mention the Birch group by name, but all four points, especially the fourth, were clearly aimed at the John Birch Society, with its admitted system of membership cells and front organizations.

Welch continues to try to give the impression of important Catholic support for his organization. Speaking at the Commonwealth Club of San Francisco in January 1962, he said Cardinal Cushing was one of the society's strongest, most outspoken and consistent supporters" and that many priests had founded John Birch chapters. A few days later, *The Monitor,* official newspaper of the Catholic archdioces of San Francisco, charged editorially that "Mr. Welch took the Cardinal's name in vain." It accused Welch of "exploiting an old friendship to the extent of distorting the true facts, confusing Catholics, and spreading divisiveness in the general community at a time when the people in this country need unity and vision and hope to strengthen their capacity for leadership of the free world."

Many writers have given the John Birch Society a clean bill of health as far as anti-Semitism is concerned. Others have charged that it is a genteel endorser of anti-Semitic persons and literature. The evidence is worth detailed examination.

Welch, himself, denies these charges vigorously. He devoted much of the April, 1961, issue of the society *Bulletin* to this matter. He named certain "notorious anti-Semites" who have, he said, assailed his supporters as "a bunch of Jews and Jew-kissers." He named certain Jewish members of the society, including William Schlamm, Julius Epstein, Morrie Ryskind, the late Alfred Kohlberg, and Rabbi Max Merritt.

In a variation of the cliché "some of my best friends are Jews," Welch said he probably has "more good friends of the Jewish faith than any other Gentile in America." He went on to say that he had many Jewish customers when he was in the candy manufacturing business. He said he drank coffee in their kitchens at midnight, borrowed money from them and lent them money

in return, and engaged in every kind of business and social activity with Jews.

Getting down to cases, he admitted that he had once used a pamphlet by Joseph P. Kamp, a notorious anti-Semite who published a scurrilous attack on General Eisenhower before the 1952 Republican Convention. Welch said he used a pamphlet by Kamp in 1954 as a source for his book *May God Forgive Us* and also paid Kamp a hundred dollars to go through *The Life of John Birch* in the same year to find errors.

Later, Welch said, he became "aware of both the fact and the weapon of anti-Semitism in America, and I wanted no part of the whole argument." He said he had nothing further to do with Kamp after 1954 but added that he still does not know enough about Kamp to say whether he really is anti-Semitic.

Welch related that a person who had been trying to convert one of the society's local chapters into "a hotbed of anti-Semitism" was dropped from the society. Welch pledged that the society would never become a haven for anti-Semitic feeling "so long as I am directing its policies."

He went on to say that an unjust charge of anti-Semitism could have the effect of causing an unbigoted person to "react with anger against Jews in general, and then begin to let some of his feeling creep into his writings or his speeches." In a vicious circle, he explained, charge and reaction grow more and more severe "until the man in question winds up actually becoming violently anti-Semitic." He pledged to his "thousands of Jewish friends" that "I shall remain your friend, no matter what happens."

Regardless of these protestations, a pattern of anti-Semitism pervades much of the Birch Society movement. He recommends to his members such anti-Semitic publications as Russell Maguire's *American Mercury* and Merwin K. Hart's *Economic Council Newsletter*. Hart often refers to a conspiracy of "Zionists and their confederates" controlling America, and his organization was described by a Congressional Committee investigating lobbying as one which relies on "an ill-concealed

anti-Semitism." Hart is leader of the Birch Society's Manhattan Chapter No. 26.

Conde McGinley wrote in his blatantly anti-Semitic publication *Common Sense*, in the issue of March 15, 1961: "Inasmuch as we have received many inquiries from all over the United States regarding the John Birch Society, we want to go on record. We believe this to be an effective group, in good hands."

The Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, in a report on the John Birch Society in late 1961, mentioned most of the above information and reported a list of what it called "gratuitous and snide innuendoes regarding men in public life" gleaned from Robert Welch's book, *The Politician.* . .

Welch referred to Arthur F. Burns, President Eisenhower's chief economic adviser, as having been "born and raised in Russia" and says the White House assignment was probably "a cover-up for Burns's liaison work between Eisenhower and some of his communist bosses." As a factual matter, says the Anti-Defamation League, Burns was born in Stanislau, Austria.

Welch refers to C. Douglas Dillon, now Secretary of the Treasury, former Ambassador to France, and Under Secretary of State in the Eisenhower Administration, as "Clarence Lapowski, alias Clarence Dillon." The fact is that Dillon's paternal grandfather, Samuel Lapowski, emigrated from Poland to Texas and changed his name to Dillon. Secretary Dillon is an Episcopalian.

Welch says of Edward S. Greenbaum, an alternate delegate to the United Nations in the Eisenhower Administration: "Greenbaum is a close friend of Sam Rosenman, and a law partner of Morris Ernst. It hardly seems that anything more needs to be said."

Welch describes C. D. Jackson, publisher of *Life* magazine, as "C. D. Jacobson, Alias C. D. Jackson."

In addition anti-Semitism has shown itself in some of the local Birch Society chapters. David Harmon, who said he was a full-time paid society organizer for Iowa, Wisconsin and Minnesota, was quoted by the *Minneapolis Star* as saying at a society meeting in Minneapolis that, "even if most Jews are communists, there are still a lot of good ones."

The A.D.L. report concluded that "anti-Semitism is not a stock in trade of Welch or of the John Birch Society" but that "there are indications that Welch and the society have a blind spot—which makes it possible for some anti-Semites and a certain degree of anti-Semitism to creep into the society's activities and membership."

This seems to be an overly charitable view. The evidence seems to suggest, not a blind spot, but a degree of sophistication. And not too much sophistication is needed to know that anti-Semitism is a powerful latent force among many who are attracted to the extreme right but that overt anti-Semitism can mean ruin for a person or an organization.

When a surge of publicity suddenly brought the John Birch Society to national notice, a great choosing of sides began. Among the right-wingers, some sided with Welch and his movement, some sided against them, and others tried to dissociate the two. A similar flurry took place among conservative and ultra-conservative politicians. These realignments will be considered in later chapters.

## Chapter 6

# *"Dr." Billy James Hargis and the Christian Crusade*

> *"I am not calling liberals communists. But the end result of liberalism will be communism."*
>
> —BILLY JAMES HARGIS

For $6.50, "Dr." Billy James Hargis sells a color photograph of himself, posed before a painting of Jesus Christ, holding a parchment copy of the Constitution, and flanked by an American flag and a Crusader in armor.

This is the Hargis package in a nutshell. His Christian Crusade contains something for everybody.

The pudgy ex-evangelist warns against bigotry but sometimes provides a forum for racist speakers. He warns that liberalism will ruin the church, but he makes a frontal attack on Protestantism with a charge that 7000 Protestant ministers are communists. His right-wing unity meeting in Washington last spring, with a claimed attendance of representatives of seventy-five conservative and ultra-conservative organizations, decried the John Birch Society's effort to impeach Chief Justice Earl Warren as a useless project doomed to failure. Yet it was at Hargis's annual "Summit meeting" of his disciples in 1961 that Robert Welch, the Birch Society founder, announced his essay contest for high school students on "Why Chief Justice Warren Should Be Impeached."

Hargis peddles vitamin pills on the side, a product called Nutri-Bio, which he endorses in his magazine and sells through his agents (Crusaders) for a fifty-fifty split of the profits.

With his mixture of fundamentalist religion, anti-communism and patent medicine, he has attracted about 110,000 active contributors and an annual income for the Crusade of well over $1,000,000, double what it received in 1960. His appeal is to the soul, the mind, the body and the pocketbook.

Hargis moved into the big time early this year, when he conducted his First National Anti-Communist Leadership School at the Mayo Hotel in his headquarters city of Tulsa, Oklahoma. For five days, 179 dedicated conservatives—farmers, ministers, students, businessmen and housewives from 23 states and Canada—diligently took notes or operated tape recorders at day and night sessions as the school's "faculty" lectured them on how the communists and their sympathizers are destroying the foundations of the Republic. The tuition fee was $100.

From among the students, Hargis has chosen "associate evangelists" to spread out through the country and carry his message to meetings everywhere by means of films and tape recordings made at the school and bundles of anti-communist literature.

Hargis opened the school with a warning: "Moscow has set a date for our conquest, and the greatest problem facing us today is taking care of communism internally. Let's clean up our own mess and we'll see the problem of communism internationally being solved. We are here to light a torch—a torch of freedom in this country."

The introductory speech contained a strong plea for moderation. Hargis pointed out that the school was being covered by television and by several of the nation's major newspapers and magazines. "We cannot tolerate anti-Semitic statements or anti-Negro statements," he said. "We are not here to fight Jews or Protestants, white people or Negroes. We are here to fight communists. One wild, bigoted statement could sabotage this entire effort."

"We are against all wild spending schemes which tear down this wonderful form of government left us by the wisest human beings who ever set up a government," his keynote statement said. "We are for economy in government. We oppose aid from our nation to communist dictatorships. These and similar principles make us anti-communists, and that is all."

What followed was a series of six dissertations a day by the faculty, chosen carefully, Hargis said, to make sure there were no extremists among them. "The nuts," he told a reporter, "are a burden to me. They are my heartache."

In general, they paid high tribute to the wisdom of the Founding Fathers, the skill of communist conspirators, and the alertness of J. Edgar Hoover and the Federal Bureau of Investigation. They had harsh words to say about liberals, government leaders, the National Council of Churches, most educators, and the press.

Sessions began with prayers by Tulsa area ministers. Sacred music was provided from time to time by The Rev. Charles Turner, formerly with Billy Graham, the evangelist, and now with Hargis. From a similar source came Hargis's public relations man, L. F. (Pete) White, Jr., formerly with the Tulsa faith-healing evangelist, Oral Roberts.

One of the most popular speakers was a professor of classics at the University of Illinois, Revilo Pendleton Oliver, a member of the John Birch Society Council and a contributor to its monthly magazine, *American Opinion.*

Oliver's words seemed to belie the appearance of the tall, gray-haired, distinguished-looking professor, but they delighted the "students," who applauded warmly and occasionally interjected an "Amen!"

He called Drew Pearson, the newspaper columnist, "one of the biggest, slimiest rats in the sewers of American journalism," for disclosing Hargis's vitamin pill sideline. He described Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., a former Harvard University professor now a special assistant to President Kennedy, as a "mountebank and shyster." He referred to Secretary of Defense Robert S. McNamara as a "former socialist professor."

He attacked the Central Intelligence Agency and the Department of Defense, which he pictured as being riddled with traitors who ought to be ferreted out and punished. He said former Major General Edwin A. Walker, a key figure in the Senate muzzling investigation, had been the victim of an unspeakably vile attack, observing that "no one can reasonably doubt that this is part of the campaign to stamp out resistance to the communist

conspiracy in the United States." American leaders, he said, are timorous and unwilling to challenge Premier Khrushchev or stand up to him.

Oliver drew a whistling, cheering, standing ovation when he imitated a Russian accent and made a remark attributed to Khrushchev, supposedly speaking of the Americans: "You speet in their faces, and they call it dew."

Professor Oliver reserved special scorn for liberal intellectuals. He called them "witch doctors and fakers with a sanctified itch to save the world." He said they had a vision of a second-rate future for the United States and believed the country must tax itself "to win the favor of every mangy cannibal in Africa." He said the Founding Fathers were America's first real intellectuals and, thus far, its last.

The professor apparently did not consider himself restricted by Hargis's earlier warning against bigotry. The racist overtones were no new addition to Oliver's line. In an article in the September, 1960, issue of *Free Enterprise*, published by We, the People!, another Hargis right-wing organization, Oliver wrote that, while the Batista government in Cuba was not perfect, "it was probably as good a government as one could reasonably expect to find in an island largely populated by mongrels."

Another speech, by R. Carter Pittman, a Dalton, Georgia, attorney, introduced as an authority on constitutional law, described the Negro race as being biologically and intellectually inferior to the Caucasian race and said the Negro's achievements were directly related to the amount of white blood in his veins. He said the chief difference between the Negroes in the United States and those in the Congo is that "in the Congo they eat more people than they do in the United States.

Hargis himself was not above making an oblique racist appeal to Southern racial views. He called on United States Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy to move against the communists for their refusal to register under federal law "or resign the office." Then he added: "The Department of Justice did not hesitate to declare war against 50,000,000 Southerners because they did not obey the Constitution."

Other members of the Hargis faculty included longtime favorites on the anti-communist circuit: Mayor J. Bracken Lee of Salt Lake City, former Governor of Utah, a John Bircher and a longtime advocate of doing away with the federal income tax; Benjamin Gitlow of New York, former head of the American Communist party; Edward Hunter of Arlington, Virginia., a former newspaper man described as an authority on "brainwashing," who claims to have originated the term; and Brigadier General William P. Campbell, USA (Ret), former assistant chief of finance for the Army and now vice president of the National Education Program of Harding College, at Searcy, Arkansas, an important disseminator of ultra-right-wing propaganda.

Another was Meyers Lowman, of Cincinnati, founder of an organization called Circuit Riders, Inc. Lowman has made a career of keeping records on Protestant ministers and college teachers who have ever been associated with an organization with any alleged link with communism. Much of his research goes back to the years of World War II, when the United States and the Soviet Union were allies. His research gave Hargis and his Christian Crusade their first big boost toward national fame. It was the basis for two pamphlets Hargis wrote, charging that the Protestant ministry was riddled with communists. The pamphlets later were quoted in an Air Force training manual. A controversy developed, the Air Force withdrew the manual, Hargis was attacked from coast to coast, and he was able to charge that he was being smeared by a communist conspiracy.

Pete White, his publicity man, said afterward: "The Air Force manual squabble was the best break we ever got. The membership and the contributions doubled."

In the course of the five-day school, Hargis put on a public "Survival U.S.A.!" rally at Tulsa's municipal theater and brought in as the principal speaker Captain Eddie Rickenbacker, the World War I flier and holder of the Medal of Honor, now board chairman of Eastern Air Lines. He lambasted the liberals, advocated the elimination of the income tax, called for a halt to foreign aid, and urged "defensive aggression" against the Soviet Union.

Rickenbacker said someday the country would erect a monument to the late Senator Joseph R. McCarthy of Wisconsin. He said the danger McCarthy warned against is here—an implacable enemy is now tightening its grip around our throats. "For honor and our undying souls," he roared, "let us fight and die before the final enslavement."

Other speakers at the downtown rally included Congressman Gordon Scherer of Ohio, who said the House Committee on Un-American Activities did not engage in witch hunts but rat hunts; Mrs. Harry Artz Alexander, of the Granada, Mississippi, chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution, who expressed alarm at finding certain textbooks there which gave more space to the United Nations Charter than to the United States Constitution; and Major General Charles A. Willoughby, USA (Ret), former intelligence chief for General Douglas MacArthur, who now is the Christian Crusade's Washington representative and editor of a "Foreign Intelligence Digest Section" of Hargis's magazine, *The Weekly Crusader*. Willoughby's main point was that 1,000,000 to 2,000,000 aliens are in the United States illegally, providing excellent material for a Red fifth column.

The man who started all this is a thirty-seven-year-old who stands six feet tall, weighs 270 pounds and is strong as an ox. With enough energy and drive he carries the tactics of the Middle West evangelist into the ultra-conservative political movement. Instead of arousing the people against Satan, he now arouses them against communism, with a good bit of Satan thrown in.

He was born in Texarkana, Texas, the son of a railroad laborer. His only formal education was a year and a half at the Ozark Bible College in Bentonville, Arkansas. He points out that his doctoral degrees are honorary—one from a college in Puerto Rico, the other from Bob Jones University in South Carolina. He also has degrees from two "schools" on the list of "diploma mills" maintained by the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. One of these, Burton College and Seminary, at Colorado Springs, Colorado, awarded him a Bachelor of Theology degree in 1958 and a Bachelor

of Arts earlier. The other, Belin Memorial University, then of Chilicothe, Missouri, which had a standard fee of $500 for a doctorate, awarded him an honorary Doctor of Laws degree in 1957. Its president, Clyde Belin, was later convicted of fraud by a federal court in Kansas City.

Hargis became a minor celebrity in 1953, when he headed a project to use balloons to fly portions of the Bible across the iron curtain into communist countries. He soon began mixing his fundamentalist evangelism with fundamentalist politics and began barnstorming around the country addressing rallies heralded by banners proclaiming, "For Christ! Against Communism!" Now he travels in a $50,000 converted Greyhound bus, a headquarters on wheels that contains sleeping quarters, a combination conference-living room and a well equipped office. He carries a fishing rod along and occasionally stops to try his luck.

The Christian Crusade, not to be confused with Dr. Fred C. Schwarz's Christian Anti-Communist Crusade, is the popular name for Christian Echoes National Ministry, Inc., incorporated in 1947 in Oklahoma. It has been recognized by the Department of Internal Revenue as a tax-exempt religious organization.

The Crusade organization occupies an entire floor in a downtown Tulsa office building and has 55 employes. Three of them, on a recent day, were busy opening the 2000 letters a day that pour in responding to speeches and appeals by Hargis and his disciples on radio and television and in leaflets and magazines. They were taking out the money and forwarding the letters for further processing. In the next room, five girls sorted the letters and recorded their contents. In a third, clerks filled orders for Hargis pamphlets and other materials. Seven automatic typewriters typed form letters to be signed by an automatic signer. Hargis himself handles about 500 letters a month.

The Crusade's file of addressograph plates is kept up to date with colored tabs to indicate the amount of money usually sent in by each contributor. There are about 110,000 names in the active file. The plates are sorted geographically so that special area appeals can be made.

A research division, headed by former Army Warrant Officer Maynard Lee, who served under Willoughby at General MacArthur's headquarters in Tokyo, includes a library of anti-communist material with bound volumes of congressional hearings relating on the subject, 4000 books and a file of information on 30,000 persons.

Hargis's message goes out commercially over 250 radio and nine television stations across the country. On each broadcast, he mentions a tract or pamphlet for sale by the Crusade and solicits contributions.

At his headquarters, bins are stacked with Hargis literature ready for distribution: "Uncle Sam, M.D.?" directed against government health insurance; "Unmasking Martin Luther King, Jr., the Deceiver;" "Current Communist Party Lines Promoted by the National Council of Churches;" "The United Nations, Destroying America by Degrees," and others.

Hargis reports, in his pamphlet on the UN, that "many well informed persons have reason to believe that the United Nations Charter was written by Alger Hiss and Molotov. In essence, it is taken almost entirely from the phoney constitution of the Soviet Union." He warns that the shift of a few votes in the General Assembly "would result in Red China's admission and thus accomplish a key objective of the (communist) conspiracy" and that the nation faces "a landslide toward the entire sellout of American sovereignty."

The Crusade publishes *The Weekly Crusader*, which contains Willoughby's intelligence report; the monthly 50-cent *Christian Crusade Magazine,* with a circulation of 100,000; and a weekly column by Hargis distributed to newspapers.

Last year, the Crusade bought a library of 10,000 books on communist activity from Allen A. Zoll, an anti-Semitic Nazi agitator of the 1930s. White, Hargis's public relations man, has explained that Zoll never was a member of the Crusade staff but had a three-month association with it last year, in which he raised funds that permitted the Crusade to buy his library.

Hargis told reporters covering the Anti-Communist Leadership School in Tulsa that he turned over to the

Crusade last year $145,000 in lecture fees and $50,000 in royalties on his books and records. He said he owed $45,000 on his 700-acre ranch near Tulsa, which cost $55,000, and had only about $100 in his checking account. But he does get $12,000 a year, tax free, and expenses from the Crusade, as well as the use of a $43,000 parsonage where he lives with his wife and their four children.

His other enterprise, "We, the People!," was founded by Harry Everingham, who remains its vice president. Its headquarters are in Chicago and it claims to have affiliates in 1700 communities in all 50 states. Harris became president a few years ago. Its monthly magazine, *Free Enterprise,* recommended last year as patriotic reading materials two publications that openly preach race hatred aimed particularly against Negroes and Jews, Gerald L.K. Smith's *The Cross and the Flag* and Conde McGinley's *Common Sense.*

The appeal of this combination evangelist and political agitator is to the superstitions and fears of people with troubles and worries. For midwestern ministers who fear the inroads of religious modernism, for conservative students in revolt against liberal ideas expressed by their teachers, for small businessman burdened by taxes, for farmers uneasy over farm surpluses, but resistant to government controls as an accompaniment to their government subsidies—for all these, Hargis has a single answer: A secret communist conspiracy, centered in Washington, is responsible for all these unpleasant things, and its purpose is the complete destruction of the United States.

If this simple-minded answer were his only appeal, however, it is doubtful that he would have made such a success or would have such prospects for the future. He claims a monthly growth of 4000 to 5000 contributing members and has announced a goal of 5,000,000 Crusaders by the end of 1962.

Plain communism is the main threat but not the entire threat that he presents to his audiences as the cause of their worries. In addition, despite his disclaimers, Hargis's movement feeds the prejudices of the ignorant and the provincial among his listeners. He may be off-

stage at the time or apologize privately afterward, but the racist and xenophobic innuendos by some of his associates must be counted as a significant part of his appeal.

Another element in his formula is his identification with other groups in the far right, especially with the John Birch Society. Hargis is listed as a Bircher himself, and the two organizations have interlocking directorates. He calls Robert Welch, founder and head of the Birch Society, "a great American patriot." He has said that a communist-inspired "anti-anti-communist" campaign began last year against the Birch society, had shifted early this year to his own organization, and soon would turn against Dr. Schwarz's Christian Anti-Communist Crusade.

Hargis complains that his movement has been hurt some in recent months "by a smear campaign by national magazines and liberal newspapers." Financial deficits since last February have forced the organization to reduce the number of its radio and television programs and publications. Hargis has explained to his supporters that contributions in some months have fallen short of the Crusade's $95,000 monthly budget. Deficits in three recent months were $8,000, $10,000 and $25,000.

"But there is only one direction to go," he declared at a recent private meeting with his supporters in a St. Louis hotel. "That's forward. We've got to fight harder. We must be hurting them or else they would not be fighting us so hard."

His plans for the remainder of the year included anti-communist conventions and rallies at Manitou Springs, Colorado, Tulsa and the Seattle World's Fair, where he said twenty-four rallies would be held. The closed meeting was one of fifteen being held in various cities to raise money for the purchase of an anti-communist "university" at Manitou Springs, to provide two-week summer sessions for high school and college students.

## Chapter 7

### *Dr. George S. Benson, Home Missionary of the Right Wing*

*"My aim is to move public opinion at the grass roots in the direction of godliness and patriotism."*

—GEORGE BENSON

Back in 1936, there was a promising confluence of a promotion-minded missionary just returned from nine years in China, a down-at-the-heels Bible-belt college in Arkansas, and a lot of money from conservative business sources.

The result was a flourishing seedbed of right-wing books, pamphlets, canned newspaper columns, radio programs and motion picture films that probably outproduces any of the other ultra-conservative centers in the country.

The returned missionary was George S. Benson. The college is Harding College, in the town of Searcy, on the edge of the Ozark escarpment in central Arkansas. His information-distributing operation, housed on the campus as an affiliated unit of the college, is called the National Education Program.

As president of the college and operator of the NEP, Benson has become known to many groups across the country as the leader of a major campaign to convince Americans that communist encroachment is endangering their way of life.

His best known tool at the moment is the film "Communism on the Map," made and distributed by the NEP. It has been viewed by 10,000,000 persons in schools,

service clubs, industrial plants, political forums and defense installations all over the country. It has drawn both high praise and sharp criticism. The criticism led to its being banned from official use in 1961 by Deputy Secretary of Defense Roswell L. Gilpatric. That action was one of the incidents that touched off the Congressional hearings into the so-called "muzzling" of military officers who wanted to speak out against communism.

Benson was born September 26, 1898, in Dewey county, Oklahoma. After two years at Harding college and another two at Oklahoma A. & M., he went to China in 1925 as a missionary for the Church of Christ, known also as the Campbellites, the same sect that operates Harding College. It is fundamentalist, opposing most modernist doctrines, including the Darwinian theory of evolution.

He became an English instructor at Sun Yat-sen College in Canton and later founded a private school for upper-class Chinese students who were charged a high tuition fee. With the profits from this and other educational enterprises, he founded a school for coolies. "He never forgot the poor," an admiring biographer observed some years ago in the *Saturday Evening Post.*

In 1936, he returned to the United States to assume the presidency of his alma mater. The school had a student body of around two hundred, it lacked academic accreditation, and it had a debt of $75,000. He found the state of his country even more disturbing than the state of his college.

"I was shocked and saddened," he told a *New York Times* correspondent in a recent interview, "at the lack of understanding and appreciation which most Americans seemed to have of their country and their heritage.

"They seemed beaten by adversity, disillusioned with democracy, ready to give up a free-enterprise system which, even in the depths of the depression, gave them a standard of living far beyond anything else in the world. They had lost their Christian convictions and their sense of moral purpose and were listening to all manner of false prophets.

"Having seen despotism and totalitarianism at first hand in the Orient, I knew where this would lead, and I

began talking about it to everyone who would listen."

Benson, who calls himself "Dr. Benson" on the basis of an honorary doctor of letters degree (Harding '32), proved to be an attractive personality and a persuasive speaker. He has a manner that is gentle and at the same time zealous, a ruddily healthy complexion and an air of determined serenity.

His talks about Americanism to high schools and small private gatherings in the late 'thirties led to an invitation to write a column for a weekly newspaper in the nearby town of Batesville, Arkansas. After the column had run for a few months, a radio station in Little Rock offered him a weekly fifteen-minute spot. Other papers asked to reprint his column, and other radio stations began asking for recordings of his talks.

Benson jumped into national prominence in May, 1941, when he went to Washington to testify before the House Ways and Means Committee. He advocated junking many of the depression-born New Deal agencies, notably the Works Progress Administration, the Commodity Credit Corporation and the National Youth Administration, an agency that provided federal jobs for unemployed young persons. He contended that the money saved in this way could be used to finance rising defense expenditures. The testimony was widely quoted, and reprints were sent out all over the country.

Twenty students at Harding picked up the ball and wrote a letter to Secretary of the Treasury Henry A. Morgenthau asking to be taken off the NYA rolls. They reported that work had become plentiful, wages were adequate, and the money they were receiving could better be used for military purposes. The NYA administrator, Aubrey Williams, tried to brush off the stir they caused by belittling their action in a press release. But President Roosevelt found it advisable to step in and suggest that Williams reverse himself. He eventually wrote the students a letter, congratulating them for their patriotism.

Still more publicity came to Benson and Harding college when he gave his entire student body a half-holiday in the spring of 1942 to save the strawberry crop around

Searcy. Farm labor was short because of the war, and the students were able to save the day.

At about this time, Benson proposed a way to step up his operations to match his broader horizons. He persuaded the college trustees to set up a new National Education Department. The school's $75,000 debt had long since been paid off, and the trustees appropriated $32,000 to establish the new department under the personal direction of the president.

When Vivien Kellems, a woman industrialist, denounced the tax withholding system, refusing to collect income taxes on the salaries of her employes, Benson had her in Searcy within two days, addressing the college and a Kiwanis Club luncheon downtown in a speech advocating the repeal of the income tax amendment.

The big money was yet to come. During the post-war period, when labor-management conflicts were erupting in many places, Benson often spoke on the theme that the free-enterprise system would be destroyed "unless American industry succeeds in reselling our own people on the fundamentals of our way of life."

One such lecture came to the attention of Alfred P. Sloan, late president of General Motors. He asked Benson how his message could be spread to a greater number of people. Benson suggested that the most effective medium would be motion pictures.

The upshot was a gift of $300,000 from the Alfred P. Sloan foundation in 1949, which started the NEP's motion picture project. An additional $75,000 for the film program was provided later by the Maurice and Laura Falk foundation of Pittsburgh.

Other grants from the Sloan foundation are said to have brought the total from that one source to $597,870 by 1950. The college now has an endowment fund of $6,000,000, mostly from industrial donors. The enlarged campus has handsome new buildings, some neo-classical and others egg-crate modern. The school won acceptance by the official regional accrediting agency, after arranging a technical divorce from its extra-curricular activities. This meant the incorporation of the National Education Program as a non-profit, tax-free educational agency, with rent-free quarters on the campus. Benson and

some other members of the faculties serve both in official capacities.

The NEP has two full-time vice presidents, who are not connected with the college. They are Brigadier General William P. Campbell, (Ret.), a former assistant chief of finance for the Department of the Army, and Howard W. Bennett, a former official in the employe relations division of the General Electric Company. They have access to the college printing plant and an operating budget of $260,000 a year.

Reports by the National Education Program to the United States Internal Revenue Service acknowledge the receipt of $833,000 in gifts in the seven years that ended in 1960. Individual donors are not identified in the reports. Sale of literature and miscellaneous services account for additional income ranging from $17,000 to $45,000 a year. Freedom Forums, three-day or four-day anti-communist lecture and discussion programs operated by the NEP bring in another $20,000 to $25,000 a year, although their reported expenses almost equal income.

Harding college suffered a setback in 1960 when White County won a court battle in its effort to collect taxes on the college's dairy, laundry and printing shop. The Arkansas Supreme Court ruled in a four-to-two decision that a college's tax-exempt status could not fairly be extended to cover commercial operations carried out in direct competition with outside businesses. Justice Paul Ward, in the majority opinion, said that the tax advantage sought by Harding college was "contrary to the avowed purpose of the college to teach the benefit of 'America's private enterprise economy.' "

A correspondent for the *Kansas City Star,* who visited the college in February, 1962, found it had something of a split personality. He concluded that, while the NEP was grinding out its material against communism and in favor of free enterprise, students and faculty members in the college proper had more general, and often more liberal, interests. The correspondent quoted one student as saying, jokingly, "We'll be glad when the communists take over so we can hear their side of it."

But the college catalogue indicates that such frivolity

is not encouraged. It says: "Any person who is antagonistic to the spirit of the college and who does not intend to support its policies should not enroll."

The college is strict in other respects, too. Students must attend daily chapel and bible classes, and they must go to morning and evening church services on Sunday. Women students are prohibited from smoking, and men students may smoke only in their own dormitory rooms or in the rooms of other men students who smoke.

One of the principal items in the stream of materials that flows out of the NEP is Benson's weekly column, "Looking Ahead," sent free to more than 3000 weekly newspapers. A monthly reprint of one of these, under the title "Listen Americans!" is sent in bulk lots to 1000 business organizations.

A monthly newsletter called *The National Program Letter* is sold by subscription at $1 a year and now has 50,000 subscribers. A series of high school study outlines in "American Citizenship Education" is sent free to any school requesting it.

The center has about thirty motion picture films, highly professional in technique, that stress the advantages of the free-enterprise system and the dangers of socialism and communism. These are offered for sale at from $42.50 to $125 each. They may be rented for $5 each per showing.

A *New York Times* correspondent, Cabell Phillips, after a study of the NEP and its output, estimated at 100,000 pieces a year, reported that a basic and constantly reiterated philosophical thread runs through all these activities. He summarized this theme as follows:

> The American way of life has two principal foundations: Christian morality and a free-enterprise economy. These doctrines are imbedded in the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution. They have given this country the highest standard of living in the world. But our country and our way of life are under ceaseless attack by international communism, since we are the last obstacle in its path of world conquest.
>
> The cutting edge of this attack goes under the disarming guise of socialism. ("The origin of modern socialism is Karl Marx's *Communist Manifesto,* and socialism has advanced under such slogans as 'the welfare state,' 'public ownership,' 'government control,' and so forth.") Where outright com-

munism has not already triumphed, as in Eastern Europe, China, parts of Asia and Cuba, it has achieved a strong foothold, as in Latin America, India, France and Great Britain.

The incubus of socialism is particularly strong in the United States, where it is being actively propagated by a communist fifth column. ("Thousands of communists are infiltrated into our American institutions and are seeking to undermine our way of life.")

The moment of crisis is nearer than most people realize.

A key belief of Benson and his colleagues is that the problem of combatting communism is almost entirely a matter of domestic rather than international strategy. "America can survive only if we make it impossible for the communists to infiltrate us," they say. "This must be done by a massive program of economic and political information."

They argue that it is a mistake to try to negotiate with the Russians on anything—disarmament, cultural exchanges, Laos, etc.—and they oppose any foreign aid that is not coupled with anti-communist military alliances.

Our reliance, they contend, must be in creating invulnerable military, political and economic strength under capitalism here in the United States. This depends, in turn, they say, upon correcting those internal trends and forces that would deflect us from this goal.

Among the internal trends and forces that have drawn Benson's fire are centralized government, high taxes, federal aid programs of all kinds, religious and educational liberalism, foreign business competition and the monopoly power of organized labor.

Until recently, Benson and the NEP largely escaped notice by liberal opponents of the right-wing movement, because they avoided the bigotry and racism often associated with the extreme right. Benson did not take a stand one way or another in the school desegregation dispute at Little Rock in 1957. That, incidentally, was when he met Major General Edwin A. Walker, who then had charge of federal troops sent there to enforce school desegregation; Benson later gave his blessing to Walker's "pro-blue" troop indoctrination program.

It was the film "Communism on the Map" that put Searcy, Arkansas, on the map as far as most liberals,

left-wingers and others who keep track of the extreme right were concerned. The film was produced at the college by Glenn A. (Bud) Green, then director of NEP and executive vice president of the college, later a field co-ordinator for the John Birch Society and publicity director for the National Right to Work Committee, a lobbying group opposed to closed-shop union contracts.

The forty-five-minute color film, a series of still pictures and maps with a taped narration, presents an impression of the United States lying helplessly in the closing jaws of a world communist conspiracy. Its theme is the beguiling subtlety of the communist approach and the brutality of its ultimate take-over.

One sequence shows the late General George C. Marshall representing the United States in China. The narrator asserts that Marshall "affected a truce that aided the communizing of China."

Other sequences deal with the communist take-over of Czechoslovakia (accomplished initially, the narrator says, through the establishment of a coalition government); student riots in San Francisco (manipulated by communist agents, the narrator says); and a boastful Fidel Castro (who displaced an "anti-communist regime" in Cuba with this government's assistance, according to the narrator.)

At the end, the map of the world is shown being slowly suffused in shades of red and pink. All the important nations except Switzerland, Spain and the United States are contaminated, and at the fade-out a big question mark rests on the United States.

The main point that the film drives home is that the menace we face is not military, but rather the danger of gradual infiltration and softening up by secret communist agents already stationed at key points in labor unions, government, the schools and the press, preparing the country for the final takeover.

The National Education Program lists as users of the film a number of Navy commands and several large corporations including the Goodyear Tire & Rubber Co., Boeing Airplane Co., Minnesota Mining & Manufacturing Co., Aluminum Company of America, Revere Copper & Brass Co., and Texas Power & Light Co.

Among the objections registered to the film was a statement by 92 faculty members at the University of Washington, issued after a showing on the campus in Seattle. They wrote:

> Having seen this film strip, we are shocked by its irresponsible mingling of fact and falsehood and by its gross distortion of historical events. As scholars concerned with truth, we protest against this misleading and harmful propaganda. As citizens concerned with our national security, we deplore this attempt to demoralize us at home and divide us from our allies abroad.
>
> Nowhere in the film is there any constructive analysis of the underlying causes of communism. All the film does is to appeal to the emotions of fear, suspicion and hatred. One of the basic themes of the film is that communism has already, directly or indirectly, conquered practically the whole world.

When a reporter once asked Benson about such criticisms, he replied with a tolerant smile: "If you are going to move Washington to do the things it ought to do, you have got to move public opinion. My aim is to move public opinion at the grass roots in the direction of godliness and patriotism."

The film was offered for sale at the NEP for $42.50 and could be rented from something called "Freedom Crusade" at a post office box in Portland, Oregon. In addition, it was made available at no charge by Missionary Film Enterprises, a Baptist organization, in the Seattle area. The Puget Sound Light and Power Company also made it available for nothing in the Seattle area, as well as the Boeing Company there and in Kansas. It was shown at the University of Wichita under the sponsorship of the local John Birch Society. A 16-millimeter version of the film is being distributed under the title "Communist Encirclement 1961."

Production of the film served to bring out the close relationship between Benson's operation and the John Birch Society. Benson has denied that he himself is a Bircher. But it was produced by Glenn A. Green, who is active in the Birch Society, and passages in the narration are taken word for word from the Blue Book of the John Birch Society.

A chapter of the society has been organized in Searcy,

and the proceedings of one of its meetings was described in the National Education Program's newsletter. Reciprocal praise for Benson and his work has come from Robert Welch, founder and boss of the John Birch Society. In his society bulletin for April, 1961, Welch wrote: "Our people have also been responsible for the production, and then during the past several months for virtually thousands of showings, of a film strip called Communism on the Map. . . Full credit for providing the organization, financing, prestige, and practical circumstances for such work must go entirely to the National Education Program of Searcy, Arkansas, headed by that great American, Dr. George Benson. But this film strip was conceived, prepared, and produced by an ardent member of the John Birch Society, partly from our materials."

Benson saw fit in 1961 to disavow any connection with the John Birch Society. This was after Norman Thomas, the perennial Socialist Party candidate for President, had denounced the National Education Program as "a more serious threat than the John Birch Society."

"If he considers we are a threat to the progress and growth of communism, I am honored by it," Benson said. "If he means we are a threat to the fundamental basic factors of our American way of life, I consider it totally false."

Benson denied Thomas's contention that the NEP and the Birch Society were allied in their views and that each was a "front" for the other.

"Our organization is 20 years older than the Birch Society, and we have been uninfluenced by it," Benson asserted.

In March, 1962, Benson announced that he had been elected president of a Christian college to be established in Hong Kong. He said he planned to resign from the presidency of Harding college when he reached the mandatory retirement age of sixty-five in September, 1962. The announcement said a $250,000 building fund campaign was contemplated and the new institution was expected to become a four-year college by 1967.

But it seemed evident that Benson would continue to

be an influential force in this country. The announcement said he would divide his time between Hong Kong and the United States.

## Chapter 8

### *Some Mouthpieces of the Far Right*

> *"In 1941, Roosevelt rigged a condition which made the people accept his war policy. In 1961, there are grim indications that the Kennedy Administration is rigging a condition which will make the people accept his policy of surrender."*
>
> —THE DAN SMOOT REPORT, November 27, 1961

An aging oil multi-millionnaire in Dallas, Texas, is the one-man force behind much of the flood of extreme right-wing propaganda that is spreading across the country by means of radio, television and the printed word.

H. L. (Haroldson Lafayette) Hunt, now in his early seventies, personally financed the beginnings of two of the most widely heard spokesmen for the far right, Dan Smoot and the Rev. Wayne Poucher. Perhaps more important, he did much to convince other businessmen that it was good business to promote extreme conservatism through commercial advertising.

Hunt is a gentle-appearing, soft-spoken man, who has little to do with other Texas business conservatives. He is friendly with newspaper men and enjoys telling them that liberals are indulging in exaggeration when they suspect he and his money are behind every new rightist group that appears. He just does what he can, he says, for what he views as patriotic causes.

It would be hard to tell exactly how much he spends a year in furthering his concepts of freedom, he says, but it probably is less than one million dollars.

For a man whose income is said to be one million dollars a week, Hunt is simple in his habits. His brief

entry in "Who's Who in America" merely says that he is an oil producer, born in Vandalia, Illinois, mentions his two marriages and his Hunt Oil Co., and adds that he is a Democrat and a Presbyterian. His house is a replica of George Washington's home at Mount Vernon.

His thoughts are simple, too. His philosophy is probably best revealed in his privately-published novel, a fifty-cent paperback, which is called *Alpaca.* The title is the name of his version of a utopian state, a land where the government appoints the leadership of the opposition party and where political meetings of more than 200 persons are forbidden. The number of votes a citizen can cast depends on how much he pays in taxes. If he is on government relief, he cannot vote at all. He sums up his ideal state in these words: In a government based on fairness and justice, what is good for the possessor of the greatest wealth in the nation is good for the poorest citizen or the citizen in any degree of prosperity between the extremes.

A special provision of his thirty-five-page ideal constitution, printed as an appendix to the novel, provides for a depletion allowance in the taxation of irreplaceable natural resources. He thus gives formal sanction to the provision in existing federal tax laws that helped build his own fortune and those of other Texas oilmen.

As for tax exemptions for charitable and educational purposes, he observes that these have become a racket in many lands. In Alpaca, the only such exempting would be charities to advance medical science, to care for the sick, and "to enlighten the public toward the promotion of personal initiative and individual liberty." Again, the provision fits his own needs.

But the restrictions his ideal state would place on radio and television propaganda would curtail the programs he now sponsors if he were suddenly to be transplanted to the land of Alpaca. His model constitution would bar the discussion of "governmental affairs and persons" from radio and television on the ground that reading results in a higher order of political intelligence.

Unlike many others on the far right, including some of his own proteges, Hunt is not worried much about

liberals. He has said that "many who classify themselves as liberals are as dedicated to America as I am." He is concerned about those in the middle of the road, who, he says, "don't have the courage to stand up for right or wrong."

One of his plans for saving America from what he regards as a dark future is a system he calls "Each One Teach One," which happens to be a slogan the Mexican government used twenty years ago for its literacy campaign. As Hunt uses the slogan, it calls for each "active patriot" to teach one other person to become an "active disciple for freedom." He reckons that a starting force of one million would require only seven months to enlist the entire population in the cause of freedom "except for the hardcore Mistaken."

"The Mistaken," short for "the Mistaken enemies of freedom," is Hunt's term for communists and fellow-travelers.

Among the patriotic activities Hunt suggests are writing short, pithy letters to newspaper editors; giving short patriotic speeches, which he calls "Liberty Libs"; infiltrating and taking over communist front groups, and making collections of "freedom literature."

One of his own recent pithy letters, written to the Washington *Evening Star*, applied a form of numerology to the nomenclature of the right-wing movement. His standard was the fewer syllables the better. "Right," to be sure, has only one syllable, but it has been converted into a smear term, he said. "Conservative" stirs up thoughts of reaction, and it also has four very long syllables, he continued. His conclusion: "Freedom Fighters should seize and use the highly descriptive and meaningful three-syllable word 'Constructive.' It embodies everything they hope and work for and will survive criticism, if any."

His verdict on the abortive United States-sponsored invasion of Cuba in 1961 was that it was just as well that the effort failed, because it was "just one communist government trying to overthrow another."

Hunt organized Facts Forum, Inc., July 22, 1951, as a Texas corporation. It was a package operation of radio and television programs, a monthly *Facts Forum News*,

pamphlets and a free circulating library. As its name suggested, it ostensibly presented two sides of every question. Its content was clearly slanted toward the right, however, and its circulating library contained such extremist works as Clarence Manion's *The Key to Peace,* Joseph Kamp's *We Must Abolish the United States,* John O'Beaty's *Iron Curtain Over America,* and the late Senator Joseph R. McCarthy's *McCarthyism, the Fight for America.*

Dan Smoot accompanied Senator McCarthy to Dallas in April, 1952, and introduced him when he addressed the Citizens Non-Partisan League. Later in the same year, after a dinner meeting of Hunt, McCarthy, Miss Jean Kerr and Robert E. Lee, Smoot went to work for Facts Forum as its commentator. Miss Kerr was McCarthy's research assistant and later became his wife. Lee was a close political and personal friend of the Senator and later was appointed by President Eisenhower to the Federal Communications Commission.

One editor of Facts Forum was Medford Evans, later a Louisiana state "endorser" of the John Birch Society and an adviser to Major General Edwin A. Walker after he resigned his commission in the troop-indoctrination controversy.

Smoot is forty-eight years old and was born near East Prairie in southeast Missouri. He holds a bachelor of arts and a master of arts degree from Southern Methodist University in Dallas and spent a year at Harvard University on a teaching fellowship in English. He joined the Federal Bureau of Investigation near the start of World War II, and, as he puts it in an autobiographical sketch, "at the close of the war he stayed in the FBI rather than return to Harvard." He says two of his nine and one-half years with the FBI were as an administrative assistant to the director, J. Edgar Hoover. The FBI says Smoot was an agent but denies he was Hoover's administrative assistant; it says, in fact, that there is no such position in the agency.

After three and one-half years with Hunt, Smoot left Facts Forum in 1955, announcing that he was starting his own program to present not both sides but "one side, the American side." He published a pamphlet at that time entitled, "This Is My Side," in which he warned

that "when we build the central government into an all-powerful colossus—as we did under Roosevelt and Truman, and continue to do under Eisenhower—we place our freedom and our lives in the hands of political quacks and witch doctors in Washington whose power to destroy us is unchecked and unlimited."

By the end of last year, the Smoot radio program was commercially sponsored on seventy stations in twenty-two states, and his television program was being shown on forty stations in twelve states. He is strongest in Arizona, California and Texas but also has many outlets in the Middle West and South.

The weekly *Dan Smoot Report*, a well printed eight-page publication costing $10 a year, has a paid circulation of 30,000 to 40,000, double the figure two years ago, Smoot says.

In Smoot's opinion, about 80 per cent of what the Federal Government does is unconstitutional. He assails the progressive income tax, federal welfare programs, the alleged no-win policy toward the Soviet Union, the United Nations, Chief Justice Earl Warren and disarmament negotiations.

He has strongly defended the late Senator Joseph R. McCarthy and former Major General Edwin A. Walker as well as the John Birch Society, although he is not a member. In return, Robert Welch has said in the *Blue Book* of the John Birch Society, "I think that the Dan Smoot Report, because it is fairly short and is quite suitable to pick up for reading during fifteen minutes of waiting time, should be in just as many doctors' and dentists' offices as possible."

After the abortive Cuban invasion, Smoot suggested that the Central Intelligence Agency had deliberately planned the operation as a failure. He attributed the failure largely to the CIA's refusal to alert the anti-Castro underground inside Cuba, contending that this eliminated the possibility of an uprising against Castro. That circumstance, he wrote, "strongly reinforces the suspicion that the Cuban invasion fiasco was organized betrayal, planned in Washington and Moscow."

One of his campaigns this year was against a bill requiring registration of privately-owned pistols. He ar-

gued that an inevitable next step would be for the government to outlaw firearms entirely, thereby destroying the final defensive resource of an independent United States. "There is abundant evidence," he observes, "that the government of the United States, in the interests of 'world peace,' is actively plotting the surrender of our country to world communist-socialist control."

Another of his recent campaigns was against the income tax, which he described as "the means of converting the federal government into an all-powerful dictatorship." He attacked particularly the "progressive feature of the tax, which takes a higher proportion from big incomes than from small incomes, and the withholding system, which distributes the burden over the year and lulls the taxpayer into forgetfulness. But even if the income tax were proportional and payable in an annual lump sum, he still would oppose it, on the ground that a wealthy man has better opportunities for legal tax avoidance. Smoot's simple solution was to do away with all present federal taxes, direct and indirect, and substitute an across-the-board federal sales tax. He called this a "federal consumer's tax" and describes it as "a fixed percentage tax on all commodities and services, with no discrimination; whisky taxed as much as milk; bread as much as tobacco." He neglected to say that his approach to an ideal tax system would be, not progressive or proportional, but regressive—that is, it would tax the wealthy at a lower rate than the poor.

Facts Forum, Inc., was transformed into the Life Line Foundation on September 18, 1958, by amendment of its corporate charter. It remains Hunt's propaganda outlet. The organization shares a building in Washington with *Human Events*, a weekly far-right propaganda letter, which also distributes the ACA Index, the voting record produced by retired Admiral Ben Moreell's Americans for Constitutional Action.

The Rev. Wayne Poucher is the "radio minister" for Life Lines, as well as editor of *Life Line,* a propaganda letter published three times a week with a claimed mailing list of 40,000. He also writes a religious-political column for *The Militant Truth,* an extreme right-wing, anti-union paper published in Greenville, South Carolina.

Poucher's daily radio program now is carried on 227 stations in thirty-nine states. It describes itself as "a 365-day-a-year seminar and forum in palatable packages of 15 minutes or less opposing communism and socialism . . . designed to reverse the trends toward organized inefficiency and to thwart the efforts of the Mistaken who attempt to destroy the church, freedom . . ."

He also developed a television bedtime story called "Mr. Sandman." His sonorous voice and persuasive manner have made him a powerful guide to the thinking of many adults and children across the country.

Poucher was born in Florida and was graduated from high school in Largo, Florida. He attended two colleges in Tennessee and a third in Florida and then worked for a time at radio station WCOS, Columbia, South Carolina. He helped run Strom Thurmond's write-in campaign for Senator in 1954. He was ordained as a minister in the Church of Christ in 1957, explaining afterward that he was "convinced that the battle between freedom and tyranny would ultimately be won by the depth of man's religious convictions." He was minister of Owen's Chapel Church, Franklin, Tennessee, until 1958, when Hunt hired him for the Life Lines operation.

Like Smoot in his new role, Poucher is not interested in two sides of a controversial question. "We are interested only in the right side," he says. Poucher differs from Smoot in adopting a "soft sell" approach and in mixing religious fundamentalism with his right-wing politics.

Among the members of the advisory board of Life Lines are General James A. Van Fleet, an Army consultant on guerrilla warfare who blamed Adlai E. Stevenson last year for the withholding of air support from the Cuban rebel invaders and said he would have fired Stevenson as chief delegate to the United Nations; retired General Robert E. Wood, former head of Sears, Roebuck & Co. and a leader in many organizations of the far right; retired General A. C. Wedemeyer, a frequent speaker at right-wing rallies and formerly a member of the advisory committee of the John Birch Society; John Wayne, the motion picture actor, who has appeared as a guest at a rally of Fred C. Schwarz's

Christian Anti-Communist Crusade; and Louis C. Wyman, who operated a McCarthy-type anti-communist witch hunt as attorney general of New Hampshire.

In creating Life Lines, Hunt turned to a different method of financing political propaganda. Public records show that he made large direct contributions to Facts Forum; in 1951 alone, he gave it $152,000, as shown by the corporation's report to the Internal Revenue Service in connection with its tax-exempt status. Life Lines, on the other hand, is financed primarily out of the advertising budgets of commercial corporations.

Some of the business firms were his own, the largest being HLH Products, a food concern, but others included power companies, banks and insurance companies. They sponsored the Life Lines programs on radio and television, bought its tape recordings and distributed its literature. Explaining the system to business acquaintances, Hunt has said the Life Lines operation was "planned so that it can be supported through public relations expense and formal advertising by patriots who are willing to put up a battle to save freedom."

Reports by Life Lines to the Internal Revenue Service list its gross income as $173,000 in 1959 and $207,000 in 1960. More than half the total is in receipts from radio tape recordings—$104,000 in 1959 and $127,000 in 1960. The next largest item is $57,000 in receipts from books distributed at cost in 1959 and $53,000 in receipts from newspaper distribution in 1960.

Only about ten per cent of the income was in contributions. One of the contributors was the Bright Star Foundation of Dallas, which gave Life Lines $4,250 in 1959 and $12,500 in 1960. Bright Star is a non-profit Texas corporation which uses the income from undisclosed oil and gas properties for contributions to various research and educational institutions.

In taking the commercial trail, Hunt is following in the footsteps of one of Smoot's principal current sponsors, D. B. Lewis, head of the Lewis Food Co. of Los Angeles, which sells Dr. Ross Dog Food. They met in 1956, when Smoot addressed the Freedom Club in Los Angeles. Lewis, a right-winger himself, says things like "the communist conspiracy in Washington is even worse

than it was in the days of Alger Hiss and Harry Dexter White. The State Department is doing the work of the communists better than they can do it for themselves." His company now sponsors "The Dan Smoot Report" on 32 television stations and 52 radio stations.

Lewis, fifty-three years old, is president of the Organization to Repeal Federal Income Taxes, Inc., and calls the income tax "one of the most vicious laws ever passed." He warns that "communists are invading our schools, colleges, churches and communications" and has this simple solution to the problem of Fidel Castro in Cuba: "I'd blast the communists off the map in twenty-four hours." He sponsored a television showing of a speech by Robert Welch and agrees with Welch that former President Eisenhower was a "conscious agent of the communist conspiracy."

Aside from liking what Smoot has to say, Lewis believes he is good for business. He told Fletcher Knebel of *Look* magazine, "We've sponsored everything from Hopalong Cassidy to Tarzan, but Dan is far and away the best seller. I'm getting more for my advertising dollar than any businessman in America. People get so excited over Dan's show they'd feed the dog food to people if we'd let them. Thousands write us, and hundreds of thousands buy the product because they like the program."

Lewis's dog food company also sponsors the Manion Forum weekly radio program on 50 West Coast radio stations. The forum, heard on 240 stations in 41 states, is headed by Clarence E. Manion, former dean of the Notre Dame Law School, now a council member of the John Birch Society, a member of the national advisory committee of Billy James Hargis's Christian Crusade, and co-chairman of the national policy committee of For America, an isolationist group that says it stands for "states' rights, competitive enterprise, private property and individual liberty" and against "all moves toward internationalism, facism, socialism, atheism and communism."

The Manion Forum features interviews with leading American conservatives. These have included Smoot; Schwarz; the late Senator McCarthy; T. Coleman Andrews, former collector of internal revenue; Charles B.

Shuman, president of the American Farm Bureau Federation, retired General Bonner Fellers, national director of For America; retired Admiral Ben Moreell, leader of Americans for Constitutional Action; Walter Harnischfeger, chairman of the Citizens Foreign Aid Committee (an opponent of foreign aid); and Edward Hunter, chairman of a Committee for Co-ordination of Conservative Effort set up this year by Hargis.

Another firm that finds it good business to promote an ultra-conservative line, mixing tough anti-communism with opposition to domestic welfare state measures, is the Coast Federal Savings & Loan Association of Los Angeles, third largest firm in its field in the country.

Coast Federal spends 4 per cent of its net income before taxes in operating a "free enterprise department," which mailed out 2,000,000 pieces of literature last year to depositors, borrowers and business concerns, has 38 speakers making an average of three speeches a month, and schedules more than 200 film showings a month, either the House Un-American Activities Committee's "Operation Abolition" or Pepperdine College's "Communist Accent on Youth."

Joe Crail, president of Coast Federal, rates the free enterprise department as "our least expensive form of getting business." He says, "Anti-communism builds sales and raises employe performance."

The company works to enlist other firms in similar programs. Five thousand companies have inquired about the one at Coast Federal.

Crail told a Bosses' Day luncheon of the Los Angeles Junior Chamber of Commerce last year: "I hope to prove to you that you can beat the communist menace and preserve your future, and also make money doing it. While making money was not the original intent, Knott's Berry Farm, Coast Federal Savings, Richfield Oil Co. and many others have discovered that anti-communism attracts customers and raises employe morale."

Crail said that Richfield Oil, which sponsored telecasts of Dr. Fred C. Schwarz's anti-communist school in Los Angeles, had prospered in terms of increased sales and better employe morale. He said he enjoyed driving into a Richfield station, saying, "I want some anti-com-

munist gasoline," and watching the attendant's face light up with pride in his company.

But Dr. Schwarz, his message and his backing, is a separate story.

## Chapter 9

### *Dr. Fred C. Schwarz and the Christian Anti-Communist Crusade*

> *"Let's be honest and face the truth. The truth is simply that the communists are winning and we are losing."*
>
> —DR. SCHWARZ

Dr. Fred C. Schwarz is something to behold when he perches on a stool behind a lectern and, speaking in his high-pitched Australian accent, alternately mourns the ignorance of the pickets across the street, frames a clinical figure of speech likening communism to cancer, jokes about his financial straits, and thunders a warning that the communists want more than anything else to fire a soft-nosed bullet into the back of each bourgeois head in the audience.

"We don't hate the communists, those people across the street," he told an audience at Madison Square Garden last summer, speaking of the hundred or so pickets who had been chanting, "Ultra-right!—Ultra-wrong!" and "Two, four, six, eight, we don't want a fascist state!"

"I walked across to the pickets because I have a philosophy that I like to face my accusers," he told the audience in the confidential tones of a family doctor. "Most of them were misguided, misinformed. They had been told things that simply were not true. I invited them to come into our meeting, but—do you know something? —I gained the distinct impression that they didn't like me."

Then, with a reminder that he began his career as a medical doctor, he stated the proposition that co-exist-

ence with communism in human society is exactly as disastrous as co-existence with cancer in the human body. He made it clear that this is a plain scientific fact, not subject to argument. The warning about the soft-nosed bullet in the back of the head came in more dramatic tones but with the same aura of scientific revelation.

Finally, lowering the tension once more, he began his pitch for money with the wry disclosure that he had had to borrow $10 from his secretary the day before.

"Some say, 'He's after money,'" Dr. Schwarz said regretfully. "Now, like everything else, there's some truth in it, and they've got you either way. If you take a collection, they say, 'You see, he's doing it for money.' If you don't take a collection, they say, 'He's financed by secret and sinister sources.'"

The intimate platform manner, the flashes of humor, the deadly serious warnings as from doctor to patient, and the frank discussion of finances all were part of a pattern that has made Dr. Schwarz and his Christian Anti-Communist Crusade probably the most successful of the new mass organizations that have anti-communism as their theme and ultra-conservatism as their effect.

The Australian physician, psychiatrist, school teacher and Baptist lay preacher spends most of his time operating rallies and five-day anti-communism "schools" across the country. The membership of his Crusade has tripled in the last year. His audited financial statements show a steady increase in annual receipts from sales of literature and admissions to meetings and schools, from $23,356 in 1953 to $1,273,492 in 1961.

Dr. Schwartz was born in Brisbane January 15, 1913, one of 11 children. His father was a Viennese Jew who had gone to Australia in 1905 and had become a convert to the Plymouth Brethren, a Baptist sect. His mother was a Methodist church worker. His ambition was to be a medical doctor, but he settled at first for bachelor of science and master of arts degrees at the University of Queensland. As a student, he became a lay preacher and began reading everything he could find about communism, combining evangelism and anti-communism in sermons and debates.

He taught science and mathematics for five years, teaching at night and studying medicine during the day at the University of Queensland Medical School. He married in 1939, received his medical degree in 1944 and went into private practice. The Queensland branch of the British Medical Association reports that he was a member from 1944 to 1946, adding: "He was a doctor of good standing and nothing derogatory of him is known."

Meanwhile, his local reputation as a preacher and expert on communism spread, and he was invited in 1950 to make an American lecture tour for the International Council of Christian Churches, a fundamentalist group. The invitation was arranged by the Rev. Dr. Carl McIntire, of Collingswood, New Jersey, director of the fundamentalist "20th Century Reformation Hour" radio program and a constant and vehement critic of the United Nations and the National Council of Churches.

On a second tour, in 1952, he met W. E. Pietsch, a radio preacher, in Waterloo, Iowa, and the two laid plans for a permanent Christian anti-communist movement. Dr. Schwarz left his wife and three young children in Australia the following year and joined Pietsch in organizing the Crusade. The radio preacher was president and the lay preacher was director. When Pietsch died in 1960, Dr. Schwarz became president.

Dr. Schwarz emphasizes their early penury. He says he arrived in this country with about ten dollars in his pocket. Their first fee was fifty dollars given him by the cult of the late Aimee Semple McPherson to outline the evils of communism in the Angelus Temple in Los Angeles.

One of Dr. Schwarz's early steps toward national prominence came when Billy Graham, the evangelist, arranged for him to address a meeting of Congressmen in Washington.

Still more helpful was Dr. Schwarz's appearance May 29, 1957, at the House Committee on Un-American Activities. Actually, Dr. Schwarz appeared, not before the committee itself, but before its staff director, Richard Arens, and two other staff members. No member

of Congress was present. The text of the "staff consultation" has been printed as an official congressional document and reprinted in many thousands of copies by the Allen-Bradley Company of Milwaukee, Wisconsin. The company says in an accompanying note that it manufactures quality motor controls and quality electronic components, "but, with this advertisement, this company is trying to sell you nothing except the importance of holding fast to your American freedoms including the freedom to live, the freedom to worship your God, and the freedom to work as you choose, which freedoms are still here in America, but have disappeared over a great part of the rest of the world."

That testimony was expanded in his book, *You Can Trust the Communists (to Be Communists)*, which has gone to ten printings and more than 750,000 copies since 1960 and appeared this year as a paper-back.

His thesis is a simple one. He says the communists are working methodically and successfully to take over the entire world by 1973. They are helped toward that goal by every effort at negotiation, compromise and accommodation of East and West, since "to the communist every negotiation is an act of war." The role he assigns himself is to educate individuals about communism and inspire them to consider what they can do to fight against it.

This approach enables him to say, "Our organization is not in any sense a part of the rightist movement. Unless by definition it is rightist to be anti-communist, there is no conceivable way of calling us rightist."

Dr. Schwarz's high point thus far was a Crusade rally in Hollywood Bowl October 16, 1961, billed as "Hollywood's Answer to Communism." The stage glittered with film celebrities. Twelve thousand persons attended the three-hour rally, and an estimated 7,000,000 others watched over television on 33 stations in six states. Television time was pre-empted from regularly scheduled programs and paid for by the Richfield Oil Corp., Technicolor, Inc., and the Schick Safety Razor Co. The cost was estimated at $50,000.

The companies had their hearts as well as their money in the enterprise. One of Richfield Oil's attorneys, 31-

year-old Robert A. Gaston, son-in-law of the company president, Charles S. Jones, entered politics last year and captured control of the Los Angeles Young Republicans in the name of "Goldwater-Taft-Tower conservatism." He wants the United States to quit the United Nations, which he calls a "communist-front organization," abandon the Social Security system, repeal farm subsidies, scale down the income tax and block federally-sponsored medical care. He says President Kennedy's advisers are not communists but insists that "many Kennedy aims are intentionally or unintentionally like those of the communists."

Patrick J. Frawley, Jr., one of Dr. Schwarz's biggest financial backers, is board chairman of Schick Safety Razor and head of Technicolor, Inc. Frawley has said that "Dr. Schwarz will never lack for money while I'm around," and Dr. Schwarz has estimated that Frawley's personal gifts to the Crusade in 1962 would probably be around $50,000.

At the Hollywood Bowl rally, George Murphy was master of ceremonies. Other film celebrities on the stage included James Stewart, Cesar Romero, Lloyd Nolan, Dale Evans, Roy Rogers and Jack Warner. John Wayne led the oath of allegiance, and Connie Haines sang "The Star Spangled Banner."

Speakers, in addition to Dr. Schwarz, included Senator Thomas J. Dodd of Connecticut, Representative Walter H. Judd of Minnesota, and W. Cleon Skousen, a former agent of the Federal Bureau of Investigation who later was chief of police of Kansas City.

One event of that rally was Dr. Schwarz's success in extracting a public apology from *Life* magazine, which had attacked him the previous month, linked his organization with the John Birch Society, and said Dr. Schwarz "preached doomsday by communism in 1973 unless every American starts distrusting his neighbor."

George Murphy, vice president of Technicolor, Inc., disclosed afterward that Frawley telephoned Henry R. Luce, editor-in-chief of *Life* about the article and told him it was "unfounded, not factual and harmful." Frawley also sent along some of Dr. Schwarz's literature,

and the *Time-Life* organization reassessed its view of the man and his movement.

The upshot was that C. D. Jackson, the publisher of *Life,* appeared on the program and made what Murphy afterward called "one of the most enlightening speeches of the evening." Jackson said:

> Dr. Schwarz—like all dedicated men—will be subject to oversimplified misinterpretation. Regretfully, my own magazine recently published such an oversimplified misinterpretation. I believe we were wrong, and I'm profoundly sorry . . . It's a great privilege to be here tonight to align *Life* magazine with Senator Dood, Representative Judd, Dr. Schwartz and all the rest of these implacable fighters.

Early this year, when he moved into the San Francisco Bay area for a five-day school at Oakland, he ran into unusually strong resistance. The customary local sponsorship had been arranged—in this case, a group of 75 influential businessmen and civic leaders. As an additional promotion, 55 Bay Area mayors, including Mayor George Christopher of San Francisco, signed a proclamation designating the week of January 29 "Anti-Communism Week," to coincide with Dr. Schwarz's school.

Soon some of the signers sensed that Dr. Schwarz was "controversial" and began to backtrack. A dispute arose in San Francisco, and Mayor Christopher said of Schwarz: "I disavow him. I merely signed an Anti-Communism Week proclamation. I did not endorse Dr. Schwarz." In San Jose, Mayor Paul Moore complained that his signature had been obtained by "misrepresentation." Moore said: "Sure I signed it, but my intent was a simple statement against communism. I don't want someone to tie me up with something I was not fully aware of. I don't even know who the hell Dr. Schwarz is."

Eight church leaders, including Bishop James A. Pike of the Episcopal Diocese of California, issued a statement questioning the value of the Crusade and saying its approach "seems to us more likely to produce frustration and fear than to produce intelligent action." They said several communities had experienced, in the wake of Crusade schools, a resurgence of attacks on churches,

schools and councils of churches, despite assertions by the Crusade organization that it has no such intent.

A citizens' committee of 200 charged in a newspaper advertisement that the Crusade's leaders "claim to present a reasonable approach to the communist threat but, in fact, they rely on an enotional appeal which converts legitimate concern about communism to unrealistic and destructive attitudes of fanaticism, suspicion and fear."

California's Attorney General, Stanley Mosk, who had ridiculed the John Birch Society earlier as an organization of little old women in tennis shoes, called the school a "promotion" and referred to Dr. Schwarz's movement as "Patriotism for Profit." He called on the public to "turn aside from these shrill-voiced apostles of despair."

The school itself hardly seemed to justify the furor. Dr. Schwarz held close to the theme that the American people need to know more about communism to be able to deal with it. Skousen, Dodd and Judd were members of the Schwarz faculty, as well as Herbert Philbrick, former counterspy for the FBI and author of *I Led Three Lives* and Captain E. Richard Barnes (Ret.), a former Navy chaplain.

Skousen urged a commission to root "pacifists" out of the government, saying they had kept the nation from fighting communism effectively. Dodd called for an end to foreign aid to communist countries. Judd said the Yalu river withdrawal in Korea, "when we had victory within our grasp," was the greatest mistake of modern times. Captain Barnes assailed the "unspeakable filth" in literature sold to young persons. Various books were on sale, as well as a long-playing record called "How Will the Red Butchers Dispose of Your Family?"

Dr. Schwarz has had some success in capitalizing on the criticism aimed at his movement. In Oakland and elsewhere, he has challenged critics to prove that anyone has profited personally from the Crusade or that it is a right-wing group. He produces audited statements of income and expenditures. A photostat of his federal income tax return for the year ended July 1, 1961, shows an income of $5000, on which he paid a tax of $818. He receives expenses in addition to salary, and his

wife, who lives in Australia, gets $450 a month as secretary of the Crusade there.

As for the right-wing nature of the Crusade, Dr. Schwarz keeps mainly to an impersonal, high road of providing disinterested expert information about an acknowledged public menace.

One rather startling exception, in which Dr. Schwarz fell off his high road, appears in his book. He is discussing the way communists dupe unsuspecting persons into lending their names to subversive organizations. He chooses as an example the Protestant Church and proceeds as follows:

> J. B. Matthews made the statement that 7000 Protestant ministers in the United States have been involved in the communist apparatus by allowing their names to be associated with some communist front. His statement was met with indignant and angry protests and treated as an attack on the Protestant ministry. There were a few honest ministers such as Daniel Poling of New York who humbly and courageously acknowledged the truth. Daniel Poling said, "As one of the 7000, I think the figure is far too low."

The charge is an old one that has been thoroughly discredited. Matthews, a former Methodist missionary and socialist and longtime research director for the House Un-American Activities Committee, made it in an article in the *American Mercury* in 1953, about the time he was being appointed staff director of the late Senator McCarthy's investigating committee. Representatives of the three leading faiths protested vigorously, President Eisenhower defended the clergy, and McCarthy fired Matthews. The House committee conducted a brief investigation of the clergy, concluding in its report that "the members of the clergy who have associated with communist causes is a minute percentage of the hundreds of thousands of loyal, patriotic men of the cloth."

Senator Harry F. Byrd of Virginia seemed to mark finis to the episode by announcing that J. Edgar Hoover, director of the FBI, had written, in response to an inquiry, that he knew of no minister who had been proved to be a communist agent. Byrd said Hoover had supplied "convincing evidence" that the charges against the clergy were baseless.

But the same figure of 7000 cropped up in Dr. Schwarz's book and again in April 1961, in a statement by Robert Welch, head of the John Birch Society. Matthews now is associate editor of the Birch Society's magazine, *American Opinion.* . .

For the most part, however, Dr. Schwarz avoids the Birchite approach of direct attacks on individuals. Charges that certain individuals or institutions are soft on communism or tools of the communists are rarely stated directly, even by his faculty members. They give the impression, however, that they suspect the patriotism of some members of the Kennedy Administration and the United States Supreme Court, of large segments of the Protestant clergy, of the United Nations and of professors and the intellectual community in general.

The message gets across. The relatively unsophisticated, middle-class audiences indicate by their questions that they share the suspicions suggested by the speakers. The audiences include many high school and college students and young adults. The adults are largely proprietors of small businesses, salesmen, teachers, ministers and housewives active in community and neighborhood affairs. They appear to be sincere people, concerned about the future of their country and their religion.

A revealing conversation with Dr. Schwarz was reported last year by Cabell Phillips in the *New York Times,* after a Crusade school in St. Louis. Dr. Schwartz differentiated his mission from that of the Birch Society in these words:

> There is always the temptation, in fighting communism, to try to form a totalitarian organization modeled on communism. Certainly, these people—these dedicated anti-communists—want a leader. They want to be led; they want me to lead them. But I won't do it. If Bob Welch wants to do it, he can; he's got a program of action and a lot of ready resolutions. But it's not my business.
>
> You know, I sometimes get the notion he follows me around the country, signing up the people after I've worked them up."

Dr. Schwarz's formula did not work so well in New York. A television tape of his Hollywood Bowl rally had been shown there, and a preliminary meeting drew con-

siderable publicity, but his appearance at Madison Square Garden was a flop. Only 8000 persons appeared, in a hall that seats 18,000, and many of those who did come were there on complimentary tickets. A collection took in only $650 in contributions. Even the pickets outside were a dispirited and mechanical crew.

On top of everything else, George E. Sokolsky, the newspaper columnist, often a champion of conservative causes, asked publicly why Dr. Schwarz had dropped the name "Christian Anti-Communist Crusade" for the occasion, suggesting that the change might invalidate the Crusade's tax exemption. In another column, Sokolsky ridiculed Dr. Schwarz's assertion that the low attendance was due to "bigotry, boycott and fear."

The New York experience suggests that Dr. Schwarz's operation, and possibly many of the other right-wing movements, are better adapted to the West, Middle West and South, where they can feed on prejudice against supposed over-intellectualism and over-sophistication in the evil cities of New York and Washington, D. C.

## Chapter 10

# *The "Military-Industrial Complex"*

> *"In the councils of government, we must guard against the acquisition of unwarranted influence, whether sought or unsought, by the military-industrial complex. The potential for the disastrous rise of misplaced power exists and will persist. We must never let the weight of this combination endanger our liberties or democratic process."*
>
> —PRESIDENT EISENHOWER,
> January 17, 1961.

IT TOOK A MILITARY LEADER with a peculiarly un-military quality to voice the first clear warning against the new "military-industrial complex."

President Eisenhower's eight years in the Presidency, coming as they did after his long career in the Army, had made him acutely aware of the pressures exerted on civilian government by the military establishment and the huge array of industrial firms that supply and support it.

Mr. Eisenhower and his principal speech writer, Malcolm Moos, talked about this problem at length in the closing months of the Administration. The President had felt the political force of local interests fighting to retain obsolete military posts and arms plants and obtain new ones regardless of military need. He had felt the impact of the lobbying by great industrial firms in behalf of rival planes, rockets and weapons systems.

The upshot of their talks was the somberly-worded warning in the President's final address, delivered three days before he left office. He warned against "the acquisition of unwarranted influence, whether sought or un-

sought, by the military-industrial complex" and said this could lead to the "disastrous rise of misplaced power."

Moos's carefully phrasing was picked up by Gene M. Lyons and Louis Morton and used as the keynote for a lengthy discussion of military-industrial activity on the far right in the *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists* for March, 1961. Senator Fulbright, in turn picked up that article to include in his memorandum that exposed military participation in the far-right movement and touched off a major controversy, leading to the "muzzling" hearings this year.

One of the many articulate officials of the Kennedy Administration, Presidential Assistant Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., disagreed. Writing in the *New York Times Magazine* last summer, Schlesinger pooh-poohed the far right as a major danger and said it was merely a normal reaction to a progressive administration. When a reader later asked what about General Eisenhower's warning, Schlesinger commented: "President Eisenhower's phrase about the 'military-industrial complex' always seemed to me an odd capitulation on the former President's part to C. Wright Mills's theory of the power élite. I confess that I have seen no evidence of any such organized and consolidated faction, and I am wholly skeptical about the likelihood of a militarist coup."

But General Eisenhower already had modified his warning somewhat. Asked by the Stennis Subcommittee for his comments on "muzzling," he recalled what he had said a year earlier and then continued in these words:

> But these are matters of proportion and sensible national leadership, requiring the same kind of continuing oversight and perspective that other major power groupings in our society, including business, labor and government itself, require in the interest of keeping our system flexible, balanced and free. In a half century of national service, I have yet to meet the American military officer who viewed himself as a budding Napoleon, or even a Rasputin, and I suggest it is worthy of note that in recent world history the three major dictators, Hitler, Mussolini and Stalin, came from civil life. This fact does not warrant a general indictment of civilian motivation, any more than one or two military extremists might warrant the absurdity that all the military harbors political designs dangerous to our constitutional form of government.

So much for the generalities. The warning stands, and it has a basis. Nobody of responsibility has suggested that the military-industrial complex is highly organized, or all-encompassing, or on the verge of trying to seize control of the government.

A complex is an assemblage of related things. The related things considered here include a vociferous minority of military men, some retired and others still on active duty, who inject themselves into ultra-conservative causes, an extreme example being former General Walker. They include industrial firms that support right-wing meetings and seminars through sponsorship or contribution. They include a number of specific organizations that link certain military men with industrial firms, particularly defense contractors, as important parts of the new far-right movement.

This alignment should not be surprising. In fact, it might have been expected to be more widespread than it is. The military men and the industries devoted primarily to defense have a commitment, a vested interest in a national policy of strong military preparedness. In any national debate over a "hard line" versus a "soft line," they can be expected, by and large, to take the hard line. That is, they have a natural tendency to favor reliance on armed might rather than efforts at accommodations with the communist bloc and reduction of East-West tensions.

One of the organizations that brings together right-wing military men and businessmen is the American Security Council, with headquarters in Chicago. It was founded in 1955 by William F. Carroll, a former FBI agent, to operate a private loyalty-security blacklist where employers could check their employes and job applicants for indications of left-wing connections. The blacklist operation continues today, with the addition of a cold war educational program.

Five former FBI agents are on the staff, and the organization gives the impression, without actually saying so, that it has access to the files of the FBI, the House Un-American Activities Committee, and the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee.

The blacklist, which now contains more than 1,000,000

names, has been assembled from the files of Harry Jung, publisher of a right-wing newspaper called *The American Vigilante* early in World War II; files of two corporations that had been investigating alleged communist activity among their own employes; the papers of former United States Representative Fred Busbey of Illinois, and the files of two earlier private security investigating groups.

John M. Fisher, president of the council, says it tried unsuccessfully to get the files left by the late Senator McCarthy, but his widow gave them instead to Marquette University.

The council has grown rapidly. It recently claimed 2,941 members, mainly business or industrial firms but also some foundations and universities. As recently as the first of 1960, there were only 450 members. Companies pay $30 to $900 a year, depending on the number of employes. Among the members are Sears, Roebuck & Co., Motorola, Inc., Stewart-Warner Corp, U.S. Steel Corp., Illinois Central Railroad, General Electric Co., Allstate Insurance Co., and the *Chicago Tribune.*

Publications of the ASC include a newsletter, which claims to provide "internal security information and a behind-the-scenes view of what the Communist Party, USA, is really up to," a semi-monthly *Washington Report,* and special reports for members only.

Former editor of the *Washington Report* is retired Rear Admiral Chester Ward, one of the most active lecturers on the right-wing cold war circuit. At a "fourth dimensional warfare seminar" held in Pittsburgh in 1961 by the Pittsburgh Chamber of Commerce, Ward assailed Ambassadors Adlai E. Stevenson and George F. Kennan as some of the advisers surrounding the President who "have philosophies regarding foreign affairs that would chill the typical American." He was a member of the "faculty" of Dr. Fred C. Schwarz's big anti-communist school in Los Angeles in December, 1961.

Field director of the council is W. Cleon Skousen, a sort of William Jennings Bryan of the right-wing movement. A council brochure says he made 117 speeches in 1960 in addition to addressing high school students twice

a week. He is a former FBI agent and then was chief of police of Salt Lake City for four years until 1960, when he was fired by the Mayor, J. Bracken Lee, another favorite right-wing speaker. Lee explained the firing by calling Skousen "an incipient Hitler," who "ran the police department in Salt Lake City in exactly the same manner as the communists in Russia operate their government."

Skousen's book, *The Naked Communist*, is a Bible of the right-wing movement and is promoted heavily by many of the extremist groups. In it, he asserts that the first Russian sputnik was built with plans stolen from the United States after World War II and that President Batista, the former Cuban dictator, was really a sincere, pro-labor, popular ruler. Skousen advises legislators to overthrow Supreme Court restrictions on actions against persons suspected of being communists. He urges businessmen, of course, to seek help from the ACS in setting up courses on communism for their employes and checking suspect individuals and organizations.

Ward now is associate editor of the *Washington Report*. The editor is Frank J. Johnson, author of a new book called *No Substitute for Victory*, which contains an introduction by retired Admiral Arleigh A. Burke. Burke's line is the standard one that "We are losing because we have not resolved to win." Johnson, a Dartmouth graduate and former naval intelligence officer, states that same thesis. In a chapter called "Blueprint for Victory," he explains his plan for winning the cold war. "We begin by informing the Kremlin that we intend to win," he says. Then we should "take some piece of real estate away from the communists," so that "the belief in communism as 'the wave of the future' would be weakened."

He suggests an immediate naval blockade of Cuba, followed by a new invasion by exiles, this time with an American guarantee against failure. Next would come the liberation of Albania, to show Khrushchev "that we intend to create plenty of trouble for him in his own back yard."

*The Saturday Evening Post* criticized Johnson's pro-

gram as a "blueprint for disaster," since "the inevitable result of Mr. Johnson's advice would be to find ourselves fighting all over the globe and exposing vital areas to communist conquest by the dispersion of our forces."

Some issues of the *Washington Report* are signed by the ASC's National Strategy Committee. Among its members are Loyd Wright; Lieutenant General Edward M. Almond, USA (Ret.); Admiral Ben Moreell, USN (Ret.); Admiral Arthur W. Radford, USN (Ret.); Admiral Felix B. Stump, USN (Ret.); General A. C. Wedemeyer, USA (Ret.), and Admiral Ward.

Their recent reports have called for withdrawal from the United Nations if Communist China should gain membership and the use of force to overthrow the Castro regime in Cuba.

The ASC has a number of interconnections with two other related organizations, the Institute for American Strategy, in Chicago, and the Foreign Policy Research Institute of the University of Pennsylvania, in Philadelphia. Robert Donner, a member of the ASC's senior advisory board, is chairman of the Donner Foundation, which paid for publication of one of the basic books of the Institute for American Strategy, *American Strategy for the Nuclear Age*. Frank R. Barnett, a member of the ASC planning committee, until recently was director for the Institute for American Strategy and of the Richardson Foundation, a beneficiary of the Vick Chemical Co., which helps support both institutes.

Barnett has been the key man in the two institutes, which took a relatively moderate and sophisticated course while the ASC followed a more extreme line, close to that of the John Birch Society. Wright, in fact, once said he wished "we had 10,000 more or 10,000,000 more members like those I know in the John Birch Society."

Barnett is a former Rhodes scholar who attracted attention in 1951 with his proposal for an American-sponsored foreign legion recruited from iron-curtain refugees. He urges the creation of "psychopolitical forces" to fight the cold war. His plan calls for a separate cabinet office, a special joint congressional committee on cold war strategy, an assistant secretary for nonmilitary de-

fense, a career service for propaganda and psychological warfare officers, establishment of a "West Point of political warfare," and an international "captive nations' brigade" made up of refugee Russians, Poles, Hungarians Koreans, Chinese, Ukrainians and others.

At the University of Pennsylvania, the Foreign Policy Research Institute, also with Richardson support, provides a scholarly rationale for Barnett's particular hard line, which he calls the theory of "protracted conflict." It is headed by Dr. Robert Strauz-Hupé, who has gained a considerable reputation in academic circles dealing with anti-communist strategy.

Strauz-Hupé is assisted by Colonel William Kintner, a retired Army officer assigned while on active duty to the Foreign Policy Research Institute, and Dr. Stefan T. Possony, a professor of international politics at Georgetown University in Washington, D.C., who also works with the ASC. The three collaborated on a second book called *A Forward Strategy for America,* which spells out their program in detail. It calls for an immediate increase of the military budget to $65,000,000, fomenting revolts in iron curtain countries, moving in American troops if Russia tries to suppress the rebellions, the use of tactical nuclear weapons against any Russian-sponsored guerrillas, and a nuclear strike against Russia if necessary. The book contains this summary of its proposed policy: "Shorn of all ideological connotations, our policy must be based upon the premise that we cannot tolerate the survival of a political system which has both the growing capacity and the ruthless will to destroy us. We have no choice but to adopt a Catonic strategy."

Cato, of course, was the Roman who continually proclaimed, "Carthage must be destroyed."

The authors point out that the United States has rejected a strategy based on surprise attack, but they add that this could always be changed, almost to the last minute. For example, when Europe, Asia and Africa have fallen to communist domination and the United States faces defeat, "a sudden nuclear attack against the Soviet Union could at least avenge the disaster and de-

prive the opponent of the ultimate triumph. While such a reversal at the last moment almost certainly would result in severe American casualties, it might still nullify all previous Soviet conquests."

In 1959, only a year after Barnett had brought the Richardson foundation together with the two institutes, the Joint Chiefs of Staff invited Strauz-Hupé, Kintner and Possony to operate a "national strategy seminar" at the National War College. They planned the courses and developed a series of lectures later published as the book *American Strategy for the Nuclear Age* and used as the text for a similar seminar in 1960. The Richardson Foundation contributed $50,000 to the 1959 seminar.

This arrangement was terminated in 1961, when Secretary of Defense Robert S. McNamara got a grip on the Pentagon and ordered military officers to stay out of extremist activities.

Some vestiges lingered on, however. Barnett and Kintner were both used as consultants this year on McNamara's special advisory committee headed by Karl R. Bendetsen to improve troop political instruction methods.

The collaboration of military men and defense industry has become standard operating procedure. The pattern was brought out by a House subcommitte that found 1,400 retired officers of the rank of major or higher working for the 100 biggest defense contractors, who together were receiving 73 per cent of all military orders.

Two of the most important firms in 1959 and 1960 were the Boeing Airplane Co. and General Electric in value of prime defense contracts. Boeing was second and then third on the list, and General Electric moved from fifth to fourth in the period. The subcommittee found that Boeing employed 30 retired high military officers and General Electric employed 35 at the time. General Dynamics, number one on the list, had 54.

Boeing and General Electric are notable for their connections with the far right in recent years. Boeing has been active in the so-called "right-to-work" campaigns in several states and has shown the film "Communism

on the Map" many times to its employes and to community gatherings.

General Electric's expensively-published *Defense Quarterly* gave Barnett a five-page spread last year to present what he called "Priorities for Peace," a reworking of his program, leading off with a West Point of political warfare.

The relationship of General Electric with Dr. George Benson's National Education Program at Searcy, Arkansas, was explored last year by Norman Thomas's Socialist Party and Social Democratic Federation in a report on "The Ultra Right and the Military-Industrial Complex." The author of the pamphlet wrote to the NEP and received an answer from its vice president, Howard W. Bennett, former manager of economic education at GE. Bennett reported that General Electric "uses the NEP films extensively in their many plants." He listed as industrialists willing to recommend his organization Ralph Cordiner, W. V. Merrihue, J. J. McCarthy, Frank E. Highton, Roy Fugal and Peter Steele, all high officials of General Electric, as well as high officials of U.S. Steel, Lone Star Cement, Olin Mathieson Chemical Corp. and the American Iron and Steel Institute.

In response to another letter, sent to General Electric, Roy Fugal, manager of employment practices, wrote on company stationery: "It is a pleasure to endorse, without reservation, the National Education Program. For years, this organization, located at Harding College in Arkansas, has fostered through educational and other means, programs to develop understanding, appreciation, determination and active participation on the part of all Americans."

The crackdown by the new civilian leadership in the Pentagon, together with Senator Fulbright's exposure in his memorandum and the self-defeating testimony of former General Walker—all these have administered a setback to a trend that was drawing military men on active duty into a right-wing alliance with reactionary business leaders. Overt expressions of the alliance, at least, have been cut back.

But the underlying trend will continue as long as the cold war continues unabated and as long as the United

States continues on its present high plateau of defense expenditure—as long, in short, as the nation must remain geared for war in time of peace.

## Chapter 11

### *Fanaticism on the Far Right*

> *"I discovered that the Jew created Communism."*
>
> —GERALD L. K. SMITH

One day last spring, a retired Army brigadier general sat down and wrote a letter to J. Edgar Hoover, director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation. He got right to the point:

> Under authority of the Constitution of the United States, you are directed to make an immediate arrest of John F. Kennedy, usurping President of the United States, and of his outlaw advisers, on charges of treason, murder, and related crimes warranting the death penalty under specifications listed.

The writer went on to list eight charges against Mr. Kennedy, leading off with the allegation that he had overthrown the republican form of government "in conspiracy with the Pope of the Roman Catholic Church, a sworn enemy of our Constitution, and other conspirators, foreign and domestic." He also accused the President of "abdicating the sovereignty" of the United States to the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, which he described as "the revived Holy Roman Empire which receives its foreign policies from the Vatican in Rome."

The author of the letter was Brigadier General Herbert C. Holdridge, USA (Ret.), now of Sherman Oaks, California. He writes a lot of letters like that. As usual, he mailed it out to newspapermen and others under the heading of his organization called Constitutional Provisional Government of the United States. And, as usual, it was not widely reprinted, despite his clincher:

Hoover undoubtedly had sufficient documentary evidence on President Kennedy's illegal operations, "gathered if for no other purpose than for your self-protection from Brother Robert who has been intent upon 'purging' you." Therefore, Holdridge argued with impeccable logic, Hoover had to fulfill his oath of office and make a pre-emptive arrest of "this individual, who is clearly insane."

Holdridge's organization, doubtless a one-man operation, is one of perhaps 2,000 clubs, leagues, councils and individuals that put out leaflets, pamphlets, newsletters, tracts and magazines devoted to saving the nation from evil forces conspiring for its destruction.

For some, the enemy is international communism, which does, indeed, preach the belief that it will eventually rule the world. For others, the enemy is a supposed international Catholic conspiracy, a supposed international Jewish conspiracy, or fluoridation of water supplies, or mental health, or urban renewal or a mixture of some or all of these.

For the sake of convenience, those discussed here will be arranged along a rough scale of rationality. Some of the least rational will be considered first, under the heading of "fanatics." Then will come a chapter on a middle group that views the world more realistically, classed merely as "action groups." The third category will be considered as "intellectuals." The divisions, of course, are arbitrary. Some of the groups classed as fanatics could perhaps better be considered enthusiasts, zealots or bigots, or possibly even intellectuals. Some of the intellectuals will be seen to have their fanatical aspects.

It comes as a surprise to some to learn that Gerald L. K. Smith is still operating. The fundamentalist preacher was a leader of an earlier far right thirty years ago. He was the director of Huey Long's Share-the-Wealth movement in Louisiana, a partner of Dr. Francis E. Townsend in the Ham-and-Eggs pension movement, and the a co-sponsor with Father Charles E. Coughlin of the Union Party in 1936.

Today, he operates a prolific publishing business in Los Angeles, calling it the Christian Nationalist Crusade. His major publication is his anti-Semitic monthly magazine, *The Cross and the Flag*. A recent issue denounced

the producer Otto Preminger ("characterized by arrogance, impudence and the most offensive exercise of proverbial Jewishness"), Walter Winchell ("an obnoxious, loud-mouthed Jew"), the "Jewish" columnist Max Lerner ("dirty, impudent, evil, satanic, and conniving"), and former Senator Herbert H. Lehman ("this octogenarian Jew . . . determined to be a political tyrant and villain to the end").

As always, Smith's approval is regarded as a kiss of death. He made the point recently that former Vice President Richard M. Nixon disavowed his support in 1956 "to save his opportunistic hide," just as he said this year he did not want the help of Robert Welch or the John Birch Society in his race for the California governorship. Whether Nixon wanted his help this time or not, Smith gave him still more in the March, 1962, issue of his magazine:

> When the name of former Vice President Nixon is mentioned to me, I am tempted to weep inside my heart. Basically and natively he is our kind of people. He was raised the right way and got started the right way. In fact, he was the "Joe McCarthy of California."

Giving Robert Welch a boost, Smith put out a pamphlet titled "Is Eisenhower a Communist? No! But—." Smith concludes that he cannot agree that General Eisenhower is a communist agent but that the truth is that "he was just plain stupid and foolish, or he was a deliberate part of an appeasement mechanism, which if not curbed could spell the complete destruction of America." Smith throws in the information that the paradoxical question has been raised whether General Eisenhower is a Jew or a Gentile. His only documentation is a note next to young Eisenhower's picture in the West Point yearbook for 1915. It says, "This is Senor Dwight David Eisenhower, gentleman, the terrible Swedish-Jew, as big as life and twice as natural."

Other publications distributed by Smith include two old standbys of anti-Semitism. One is *The Protocols of the Learned Elders of Zion*, long exposed as a hoax, probably fabricated by the Czarist police. Smith acknowledged some question about their authenticity, saying

many persons believed them to be a blueprint for Jewish world power but adding, "This is contradicted by some people, but men of greater character and understanding continue to believe that the Protocols represent an authentic and reliable revelation of Jewish ambition for world power."

The other old standby, which he publishes as *The Jews and Their Lies*, by Dr. Martin Luther, is a pieced-together collection of the violently anti-Semitic writings by Luther in his later years.

Smith also puts out a pamphlet called "Mysterious Facts Behind the Death of Senator Joseph McCarthy," in which he links Bernard Baruch, Senator Ralph Flanders, the *New York Times* and the Washington newspapers in a "Jew-inspired plot" bent on McCarthy's destruction.

History is repeating itself. In 1935, after Huey Long had been shot and killed either by a young doctor with a grievance or by his own bodyguards, Smith blamed the murder on a conspiracy of the New Orleans newspaper publishers and Senator Theodore G. Bilbo of Mississippi.

As for himself, Smith says he is "the persecuted victim of a gang of international character assassins." He says, "The same gang has effected the dismissal of General Douglas MacArthur, the 'crucifixion' of the late Senator Joseph McCarthy and is now engaged in a campaign to smear and destroy the Congressional Committee on Un-American Activities."

Smith's magazine had a circulation of 21,300 in its report of October 1, 1961, up from 17,500 the year before.

Far bigger is the circulation of *Common Sense*, an equally anti-Semitic newspaper published by Conde McGinley at Union, New Jersey. It went from 84,000 to 89,500 in the same period.

McGinley's simple approach is to identify every person in public affairs who is a Jew, has a "Jewish name" or "looks Jewish" and prove thereby that the Jews are taking over the country through evil devices like the United Nations, disarmament, and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. In some

isues, he puts a small six-pointed star of David after the name of each Jew.

In addition to *Common Sense*, McGinley promotes and distributes books, pamphlets and recordings attacking Jews, Negroes, communism, fluoridation and international bankers.

Myron C. Fagan operates a similar far-right propaganda outlet doing business as the Cinema Educational Guild, Inc., of Hollywood, California. Fagan, the national director, traces a great conspiracy from the colonial days down through Woodrow Wilson ("the first of their Benedict Arnolds in the White House"), to the Council on Foreign Relations and liberals, left-wingers and communists in the motion picture and television industries.

Fagan has a kit of tracts that he says are being used "all over the country by very fine Americans—doctors, lawyers, bankers, merchants, and men of the cloth." One of them lists 200 of the "most rabid reds and fellow-travelers" in motion pictures, television and radio and calls for a boycott of their films, programs and sponsors.

His list includes many of the best-known stars. In his two-dollar book, *Documentations of the Red Stars and Fellow Travelers in Hollywood and TV,* he is more cautious, saying he merely tells the facts but leaves it to the American people to say whether those he names are guilty or innocent of "brainwashing and poisoning your children right under your very eyes." His documentation is mainly the unverified allegations made by professional anti-communists to the House Un-American Activities Committee.

This use of the voluminous committee files has been considered libel-proof by such operators in the past. But a 3.5-million-dollar libel judgment won this year by John Henry Faulk against Vincent W. Hartnett, a director of a similar organization called Aware, Inc. should help put the brakes on such undocumented accusations.

Among the other tracts in Fagan's kit are "UNESCO Is Deadly Menace to American Youth," "Documentary Proof that UN is Planned Death-Trap for U.S.," "The Truth about the U.N.," "Earl Warren—Wanted for

Impeachment," and "U.S.A. Abolished by Decision of UN World Court."

Many minor organizations peddle a similar line in less pretentious style. For example, Paul Revere Cowles, of Berkeley, California, puts out a mimeographed sheet from time to time that does little but reveal the suppressed "truth" that Lenin, Stalin and now Khrushchev have been incarnations of the devil. He urges everybody to read the *Dan Smoot Report, Human Events,* the *Defender Magazine,* and Fagan's tracts from Hollywood.

From Washington, D. C., comes a weekly newsletter, *American Capsule News,* published by Morris A. Bealle. His main line is that the Rockefeller family is "the real powerful source of communist infiltration in the United States." Bealle mixes this with popularized medical articles like his recent charge that the Food and Drug Administration and the American Medical Association are collaborating to promote overconsumption of unsaturated fatty acids and thus causing a rise in hepatitis, heart disease, tuberculosis and leprosy.

Mary M. Davison, secretary of the Council on American Relations, has found her particular devil in the Council on Foreign Relations and had devoted much effort to compiling the names of its members and the positions they hold in public affairs in a book called *The Secret Government of the United States.* The council does, indeed, have many members in influential positions. It is far too large and heterogeneous to, as she puts it, run the United States, make a monkey out of Congress and hold Mr. Kennedy its prisoner.

In the same class, but leaning toward violence instead of relying on words, are Robert B. DePugh, of Norborne, Missouri, and his super-secret league of guerrilla bands across the country which he calls Minutemen.

DePugh, a thirty-eight-year-old operator of a drug firm, claims a total membership of 25,000 and says his forces now have 75,000 to 100,000 individually owned rifles, plus an undetermined number of pistols, machine guns, mortars, bazookas and grenades. He says the United States may collapse internally or be invaded in the next five to ten years. The Minutemen are standing by until such time as the government no longer repre-

sents the people and there must be recourse to open rebellion. The tip-off, he says, will be government registration of private weapons. "A very large percentage of our membership would not comply," he says.

Bands of Minutemen have five to fifteen members each, DePugh says. They conduct field exercises and attend classes on such subjects as first aid, night fighting, intelligence, demolitions, riot control and house-to-house combat. Elaborate security precautions include coded messages, secret "mail drops," chemical treatment of rosters so they will destroy themselves if they fall into enemy hands, and a headquarters record cabinet triggered to burst into flames if opened by an intruder.

One or two affiliated guerrilla bands have been raided by police authorities, but beyond this there is no way of telling how much of DePugh's story is true and how much is hoax or figment of his imagination.

George Lincoln Rockwell and his American Nazi Party are worth mentioning only as a curiosity. They are a gang of post-adolescent misfits who keep a headquarters house in Arlington, Virginia, and sometimes parade or picket in downtown Washington or New York in their khaki uniforms and red arm-bands decorated with black swastikas.

The *Washington Daily News* treated them to ridicule in a piece by Tom Kelly that led by saying that Rockwell "has his room fixed up better than any kid in the block." It went on to tell about his rifle, two pistols, big swastika flag, map of the world, bar bells, picnic table and benches, private telephone, "and a hole in the window made by a rock." Rockwell's thirty-odd men use code names—Trooper Gun, Trooper Scar, Trooper Pistol, etc. One of his problems, he said, is hecklers, but the troopers are ready with guns and clubs. "If they come in the yard, we'll beat hell out of them," the commander said. "If they come in the house, we'll kill them."

At one of the meetings, the *News* reported, there were about 20 troopers, including three undercover outsiders —a *News* reporter and two college students writing term papers.

The list is a long one, of these extremists among ex-

tremists. The sample given here is sufficient to show what they are like.

They are worth this much attention despite the fact that they are anathema to the more rational and reputable right-wingers. Such links as have been seen between the fanatics and the more reputable persons of the far right are mainly from the fanatics' side, such as Gerald L. K. Smith's rather wistful remarks about Robert Welch, praising him but asking no friendly word in return.

The fanatics are, however, not fundamentally in conflict with the more rational right-wingers, but rather caricatures of them. The fanatics say concretely, sometimes hysterically, what their calmer counterparts merely hint at and generalize about.

It will be instructive, in considering groups further up the scale of rationality, to see what similarities some of them bear to those examined thus far.

## Chapter 12

### *Action Groups of the Far Right*

> *"Your voice is stilled only by despair; drowned only by your own wailing. You will find it rings loud and clear and persuasively in public if you but use it."*
>
> —Brochure of THE BOOKMAILER, INC.

"If you supported Joe McCarthy," says an advertisement in *Bookmailer News,* "read every searing, shocking page of 'Who Promoted Peress?' " There follows a series of endorsements by William F. Buckley, Jr., editor of the *National Review*; Roy M. Cohn, former chief counsel for the McCarthy Committee, and Representative Gordon H. Scherer, a member of the House Un-American Activities Committee.

The Bookmailer, Inc., is a highly efficient mail-order bookstore on East Thirty-fifth Street in New York that specializes in the literature of the right wing. It is one of the organizations that is doing the hard work of building the new far-right movement, keeping it informed and making its presence felt in the country as a whole.

For most of these groups, McCarthy is a martyr and liberalism is evil because, so they say, it leads to socialism, which leads to communism. They tend to share with the fanatical groups described earlier a belief in a powerful and long-lived conspiracy dedicated to the destruction of the republic. But the ones now to be discussed express themselves with considerable rationality and even a good measure of moderation. Unlike the fanatics, these action groups are mainly reputable, gentlemanly people. The man next door could belong to one.

Robert Welch, president and founder of the John

Birch Society, after telling his followers that the communists had suppressed most of the 100 books he recommended, went on to say in his "Blue Book," ". . . I am delighted to be able to tell you that a good friend of mine, Lyle Munson of The Bookmailer, already has the little company founded and the physical arrangements made for bringing any and all of these books, for which there is any reasonable demand, back into print in inexpensive editions."

Lyle Hugh Munson, a former CIA agent who resigned in a dispute over the handling of a security case, founded the company in 1953 and now claims customers in all fifty states and 109 foreign countries. It sold about 2,000,000 copies of anti-communist "freedom" books last year.

The Bookmailer itself publishes a thirty-five-volume "freedom library," which sells as a set for a hundred dollars. Farm Bureaus and other local organizations have placed the set in many public schools and libraries, and conservative-minded business firms often use it for Christmas gifts. The books include W. Cleon Skousen's *The Naked Communist*, Barry Goldwater's *The Conscience of a Conservative*, and Edward Hunter's *Brainwashing*.

A Bookmailer best-seller this year has been the text of the United States proposal for step-by-step general and complete disarmament, conditioned on elaborate controls and full inspection that thus far have made the plan unacceptable to the Russians. The booklet, which sells for twenty-five cents, is merely a dressed-up reprint of an official State Department publication. As published by The Bookmailer, it is titled, *No Army, No Navy, No Air Force*, and has an introduction by Dr. Robert Morris, former chief counsel of the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee and until recently president of the University of Dallas. Morris overlooks the control and inspection features and castigates the plan in these words:

> This is surrender of our Constitution, our Bill of Rights, our religious and spiritual heritage, and of our freedom. . . The balance of power in the United Nations has shifted from the West to the African-Asian nations. For the most part it is Godless. It has no background in common law, in spiritual

> heritage, even in basic justice. Yet our State Department wants this force to be supreme over us and our way of life. The language of the proposal can only mean that the combination of forces which has been running the invasion of Katanga, killing innocent women and children, would be supreme, and we here in the United States would be subject to them.

In thumbnail reviews of current books by other publishers, The Bookmailer invariably praises those on the far right. Frank J. Johnson's *No Substitute for Victory* is hailed as "one of the most important books of the year." Former Secretary of Agriculture Ezra Taft Benson also gets high praise for his book *The Red Carpet,* subtitled "Socialism—the Royal Road to Communism."

But *Bookmailer News* makes no bones about condemning books it does not like. An unfriendly review of Richard M. Nixon's *Six Crises* ends by saying, "You'll be socially accepted still if you don't plough through this one." This was after Nixon had fallen from grace and was regarded as a renegade from the far right.

The best single action-group organizer on the far right today is a former communist by the name of Marvin Liebman. When a full-page advertisement for a right-wing cause appears in the *New York Times*, the chances are it came out of Liebman's office on the ninth floor of 79 Madison Avenue.

Liebman, now thirty-eight, was a member of the Young Communist League and the Communist Party of the United States from 1938 to 1945. He quit the party after leaving the Army because he thought its expulsion of Earl Browder was unfair. In subsequent years, he kept learning the fine points of organizing pressure groups. Among his adventures was a voyage to Palestine on a ship of the Irgun Zvai Leumi, the Jewish terrorist group, which ended with internment on Cyprus. One of the men he admired most was "Beanie" Baldwin, publicity man for Henry A. Wallace's Progressive Party campaign for the Presidency in 1948. Liebman still looks back in awe at Baldwin's success with the "sea of green," in which he asked an audience to hold up bills, "so I can see a sea of green," and then passed the hat.

In 1951, when Liebman was working for the International Rescue Committee, he suddenly came to see the

Soviet Union as a world danger, he says. In 1952, he helped to set up an organization called Aid to Refugee Chinese Intellectuals, which drew support from liberals as well as conservatives.

His biggest operation began in 1953, when he helped start the Committee of One Million against the Admission of Communist China to the United Nations, which now raises $70,000 a year to carry on its continuing campaign. Liebman says it took from October, 1953, to June, 1954, to get the first 1,037,000 signatures for that cause. He says it took only five months last year to get 1,250,000 more signatures at half the earlier cost. To show the breadth of the organization's support, he points out that the three largest contributions last year were only $1000 each—from Henry R. Luce, Eli Lilly and J. Howard Pew of the Sun Oil Co.

The building directory on his floor has listings for Liebman's suite, No. 909, that include "Marvin Liebman Associates, Inc." and the "Committee of 1,000,000" as well as some of his later efforts—"American-Asian Educational Exchange, Inc.," "American Committee for Aid to Katanga," and "McGraw-Edison Co. Committee for Public Affairs." Last summer, the list also included the "Greater New York School of Anti-Communism," Fred C. Schwarz's project, which was operated out of Liebman's office.

His organizations come and go, and in a sense they are not organizations at all. He has a list of about 300 persons who are prepared to contribute $100 each when he needs money for a newspaper advertisement and will be willing to lend their names to a cause when they see his name and those of the *National Review* crowd among the principal sponsors. His public relations firm can buy the newspaper space—$6,000 for a full-page advertisement in the *Times* and additional amounts for whatever other newspapers he selects—and the firm is repaid later from pledges already obtained or from contributions in response to the advertisement.

The Katanga organization lasted only a few months and now is dead, or at least quiescent. Its debts are paid, it has only $100 left in its bank account, and it will remain

inactive unless there is another flare-up in the Congo and it seems advisable to run another advertisement.

A later appeal was for a committee to aid Chinese refugees arriving at Hong Kong last summer. Liebman was able to attract two prominent liberals as sponsors for that campaign—Senator Paul H. Douglas of Illinois and Associate Justice William O. Douglas of the United States Supreme court. An advantage of having many separate organizations is that some persons who would not have anything to do with one are happy to sponsor another.

Liebman's experience with Senator Everett M. Dirksen of Illinois showed the kind of headaches that sometimes plague the organizer of such groups when he deals with politicians. When the Katanga advertisement appeared, Dirksen was listed as one of the 69 sponsors. President Kennedy telephoned Dirksen in Chicago as soon as he saw the Senate Minority Leader's name on a statement attacking United States foreign policy and calling Katanga "the Hungary of 1961." Dirksen's Chicago office promptly issued a statement saying the use of his name was without authorization.

But Liebman was able to produce a telegram from Dirksen agreeing, not merely with the sentiments in the advertisement as it appeared, but with an earlier, stronger statement, which called for private American contributions to send arms to assist the "Katanga Freedom Fighters" in their conflict with the forces of the United Nations. Dirksen was not immediately available to clarify his position.

As if anticipating the trouble, Dirksen had written to retired Admiral Ben Moreell a week before the Katanga episode urging that right-wing groups get together on a unified program. Dirksen complained that the movement was splintered into many factions, competing for attention by taking stands each a little wilder than the other. It was hard for a conservative politician to know whom to treat as friends.

Another Liebman offshoot is Young Americans for Freedom, a rather puerile organization that makes projects out of heckling pacifist pickets in front of the White House and the like. The YAF put on a big and successful

"conservative rally" in Madison Square Garden last spring, marred only by the withdrawal of Senator Thomas Dodd and the disinvitation of former General Edwin A. Walker. Other meetings tend to be lackluster affairs at which the standard far-right themes are discussed by young persons already thoroughly sold on them. At a recent meeting in Washington, a young woman member was heard to say to a friend, "Honestly, if I have to see 'Operation Abolition' once more, I think I'll *scream.*"

YAF now publishes a well-printed monthly magazine, *The New Guard*, which provides space for additional discussions of the same themes and encouraging notes to chapters of the organization operating on college campuses around the country. An occasional success or near success in local elections has given the YAF hope that it can become an effective political force against the liberal Republicans.

Those in Liebman's circle feel a kinship with the John Birch Society, but, being political realists, say little about it. They know that Welch's extreme and ridiculous statements have given the organization a bad name. Privately, however, many leaders of what can be called the sane right wing praise the Birchers as good citizens seeking a reasonable means of political self-expression and Welch himself, for all his shortcomings, as the one man who saw a way to mobilize ultra-conservative frustrations into a tightly organized action movement. Most of the Birchers, these persons insist, are perfectly nice people, who "wouldn't think of calling a librarian up in the night to harass her."

Liebman's various lists of sponsors have some overlap with the known John Birch Society membership. Other action groups contain so many Birchers among their leadership that they can be considered little more than front groups for the Birch Society, in much the same way that the communists set up left-wing front groups.

One of these is the Citizens Foreign Aid Committee. The national chairman, retired Brigadier General Bonner Fellers, the legal counsel, Clarence E. Manion, and at least one-third of the 47 members of the national committee are all Birchers. The founder and honorary

chairman is Walter Harnischfeger, board chairman of the Harnischfeger Corporation of Milwaukee. He also is a director of Merwin K. Hart's National Economic Council, which the Buchanan lobby investigating committee in the Eighty-first Congress accused of disparaging its opponents by "appeals to religious prejudice, often an ill-concealed anti-Semitism."

The Citizens Foreign Aid Committee shares offices, officers and office force with For America, a right-wing lobby organized in 1954 as a post-war revival of America First to combat "super-internationalism and interventionism." It was hardly surprising that Fellers's testimony before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee this year was a proposal to cut the foreign aid authorization from a requested $4.9 billion down to $1 billion.

Two Birchers in New Orleans, a husband-and-wife team, Kent and Phoebe Courtney, operate the Conservative Society of America and put out a bi-monthly newspaper, *The Independent American*. Their paper was one of the first to give prominence to Robert Welch, carrying a photograph of Welch and William F. Buckley, Jr., editor of the *National Review*, as speakers at a meeting in Chicago in 1959.

Kent Courtney, publisher of the paper, is a former airline pilot, public relations man and unsuccessful political candidate. He is a devoted segregationist and has been active in his local White Citizens Council. He calls the Conservative Society of America a political action organization that "picks up where the John Birch Society leaves off."

His wife, whom *Look* magazine has called the "tigress of the far right," is editor of the newspaper and helps put out a stream of other publications, including "Tax Fax" pamphlets, attacking the Common Market, the proposal for a Department of Urban Affairs and federal aid to education. She would withdraw from the UN, end all foreign aid, repeal the income tax, impeach Chief Justice Earl Warren and expose Reds in government. She "loved" Joe McCarthy, and when she orders steak for dinner, she wants it "communist blood red."

The Courtneys have been trying since 1959 to weld the far right into an effective third party. Kent Courtney

ran for the Louisiana governorship on a States Rights ticket in 1960, polling less than 3 per cent of the vote. They returned to the Republican Party briefly in 1960 to organize a "Goldwater for President" rally in Chicago on the eve of the Republican convention, with Robert Welch as one of the speakers. But they soon were disillusioned. Phoebe Courtney wrote in January, 1961, that Goldwater was shifting to a "middle-of-the-road philosophy" and suggested he was making a deal with Nelson A. Rockefeller for 1964. Her husband later said publicly that Goldwater "has been tainted by socialism." More recently, the Courtneys have been looking to former Major General Edwin A. Walker, whom Phoebe Courtney called "one of the foremost leaders of the rising conservative movement."

The Courtneys are closely linked with Willis E. Stone's National Committee for Economic Freedom, one of several groups devoted to abolishing the federal income tax by a Constitutional amendment. Kent Courtney is a state chairman of Stone's organization in Louisiana. It held joint national conventions in 1959 and 1961 with the Courtneys' Independent American Forum. The repeal-the-income-tax movement seeks resolutions in 34 states, the two-thirds necessary to force Congress to act. It has already been successful in five—Wyoming, Nevada, Texas, Louisiana, and Georgia. Among other groups working in this campaign are the Organization to Repeal Federal Income Taxes, Inc., and the American Progress Foundation, both headed by D. B. Lewis, of the company that sells Dr. Ross Dog Food.

These are only a few of the many action groups that send out a steady flow of right-wing literature with greater or less effect. Others include the Watch Washington Club of Columbus, Ohio; the Network of Patriotic Letterwriters of Pasadena, California; Defenders of the American Constitution, Inc., of Ormond Beach, Florida; the Four Freedoms Study Group, Inc., of Kirkwood, Missouri; the Southern States Industrial Council, of Nashville, Tennessee; the old Committee for Constitutional Government, Inc., still operating out of New York, and so on.

They preach against the UN, disarmament, the in-

come tax, proposed social legislation such as federal aid to education or health care. Their literature usually carries a special low price for bundle lots, accounting eventually for a substantial quantity of the mail that goes to Senators and Representatives.

## Chapter 13

# *The Intellectuals on the Far Right*

> *"Individualism is dying at Yale, and without a fight."*
>
> —WILLIAM F. BUCKLEY, JR., 1951

At first glance, it might seem that the idea of intellectualism on the far right is a contradiction in terms. It is obvious, from looking at the main organizations and leaders of the movement, that its chief appeal is to fear, resentment, superstition and sometimes prejudice. Indeed, if there is any single driving force behind the current growth of right-wing organization, it is *anti*-intellectualism.

It is a fact, however, that a number of persons who identify themselves with the far right—or the conservative movement, as most prefer to call it—are highly educated, sophisticated even to the point of occasional cynicism, extremely articulate, and in the habit of thinking and speaking and writing continually about the world as they see it including the significance and future of the far right. In short, intellectuals.

This paradox has its solution in the relationship of these intellectuals to their constituency, the less sophisticated, sincere men and women who are attracted to the broad spectrum of the far right. That relationship is one of accommodation. Intellectuals who continue to be effective leaders of the far right must make their peace with the yahooism and prejudice that is central to the movement. They must condone the John Birch Society (or at least, as some do, condone Birch without Welch). If they scoff at Billie James Hargis as a "medicine man," they must do it privately. If they question the good sense of Edward Hunter's line that "anti-anti-communism,"

is a campaign directed from Moscow, they must keep this, too, to themselves. They must be tolerant of segregationists and even anti-Semites, who, after all, have their own places in the far right.

The ultra-conservative intellectual leader who breaks these rules, who does not accommodate himself to an essential anti-intellectualism of the far right, is on his way out. The rank and file will eventually disown him.

So much for an obvious, but explicable, paradox. The intellectuals of the far right have personalities and ideas well worth considering for their impact on the movement.

Their generally acknowledged center is the staff of the *National Review,* a fortnightly "journal of fact and opinion" edited by William F. Buckley, Jr. He created a sensation in 1951 with his book *God and Man at Yale,* an attack on liberalism in the faculty and student body.

The magazine now has a paid circulation of 60,000 by mail and another 20,000 on newsstands. Buckley founded it in 1955 after a year spent in raising funds.

Buckley's thesis in his book about Yale was a call for rebellion against liberalism, which he saw as a new orthodoxy. The magazine carries on the same rebel spirit, picturing itself as fighting for individualism against entrenched conformism. Buckley himself often speaks at right-wing rallies, debates liberals and is barred from speaking on certain university campuses. In a different era, and with a different ideology, his tactics could be those of a communist or fellow traveler.

A frequent contributor to the *National Review*, Noel E. Parmentel, Jr., writing in *Esquire,* makes a caustic appraisal of most of the right but reserves some of his rare praise for Buckley, saying: "It is probably no exaggeration to say that without Bill Buckley there would be no organized right-wing movement in America."

It was at Buckley's family home in Sharon, Connecticut that Young Americans for Freedom was formed in 1960 to consolidate a movement of young conservatives for Goldwater at the Republican National Convention.

Russell Kirk, who now writes a regular column, "From the Academy," for the *National Review*, became an earlier leader among the new conservative intellectuals when his *The Conservative Mind* was published in 1953. His

eloquent and well-reasoned attack on Robert Welch early this year and the editorial follow-up in the magazine will be discussed in a later chapter.

Another *National Review* contributor, twenty-eight-year-old M. Stanton Evans, now editor of the *Indianapolis News,* was a freshman at Yale when "Bill's book" came out. Evans later was, in turn, assistant editor of the *Freeman*, managing editor of *Human Events* and a staffer of the *National Review*. He became chief editorial writer for the *Indianapolis News* in May, 1959, and received awards for editorial writing in 1959 and 1960 from Freedoms Foundation, a dignified backer of efforts on the far right.

Evans's book, *Revolt on the Campus*, published last year, tells of the difficulties a young conservative had at Yale in the early 1950s in finding anything to offset an all-pervasive liberalism and what has been done to remedy that situation. He tells of the founding of the Intercollegiate Society of Individualists by Frank Chodorov, now an associate editor of the *National Review*. The ISI took its inspiration from the Intercollegiate Socialist Society, founded in 1905, whose alumni have included the labor leaders David Dubinsky, Al Hayes, Andrew Biemiller, Jay Lovestone, Walter and Victor Reuther; journalists Murray Kempton, Max Lerner, James Wechsler, Bruce Bliven and Walter Lippmann; and public officials Ralph Bunche and Paul Porter. The group's objective, as stated by Lippmann, "was to make reactionaries standpatters; standpatters, conservative liberals; conservative liberals and liberals, radicals; and radicals, socialists. In other words, we tried to move everyone up a peg."

ISI first was set up as a mailing-list operation in the offices of *Human Events* and began sending out what it called "libertarian" literature to conservative-minded students around the country. From there and its own present offices in Philadelphia, the organization has supplied materials to about 40,000 students, Evans says. This output has included Buckley's and L. Brent Bozell's *McCarthy and his Enemies,* Kirk's *The Conservative Mind*, Chodorov's *Rise and Fall of Society,* Henry Hazlitt's *Economics in One Lesson*, F. A. Hayek's *Road*

*to Serfdom*, and Admiral Ben Moreell's *The Admiral's Log*.

In relating the story of militancy and organization of the young conservatives of American college campuses, Evans minimizes the sillier and more fanatical aspects of the movement. His book contains the names of hundreds of far-right individuals and organizations but not one reference to Robert Welch or the John Birch Society. His glowing account of the Goldwater Rally in Chicago tells in a footnote that it was staged by the Courtneys (identified as "New Orleans publishers and activists") but omits the facts that they are Birchers and that Welch was a speaker.

Evans, in fact, is a good bit more moderate than much of the movement he lauds. He points out that Buckley's idea of academic freedom is that the alumni should "supervise" the aims and educational activities and insist that colleges halt a present indoctrination in liberal orthodoxy and substitute a "suitably qualified" indoctrination in conservative orthodoxy. "In Buckley's hypothetical college, the faculty would examine a number of points of view, but would advocate only one—the conservative," Evans says. "The advocacy would be necessarily delicate, and would consist in demonstrating the merits of, say, Burke, in comparison with the fallacies of Auguste Compte."

In Evans's view, conservatives would do better to demand simply a fair hearing for conservative views. He makes the tactical points that the conservatives are not strong enough to insist on conservative indoctrination and that a demand for a fair hearing can embarrass the left, which professes to favor free inquiry. He concludes with this substantive argument, which could have been written by any liberal:

> Beyond this, free inquiry should be desired as an end in itself, because it is free inquiry alone that can insure—not simply that the values of the West will gain a hearing—but that the 'educated' will have the conceptual sophistication necessary to perceive and defend them. Through real 'academic freedom,' with all alternatives aired and examined, we may restore the American University to its proper role in the training of the intellect and the finer discipline of the spirit. And thus we can assure that ordering of thought and of

marshalled conviction that is the patrimony of the West, and may be the saving of it still.

Evans conceives of the "liberal orthodoxy" he opposes as "permissive"—providing no fixed standards of loyalty —and "statist"—abandoning individualism in favor of collectivism. He writes: "Having little or no faith in the individual, the liberal affirms the claims of the community over the person, the claims of the federal government over the states, and the claims of 'world opinion' or supranational institutions over the United States. Liberal anti-nationalism is part of a coherent ethic of anti-individualism."

This formula conveniently permits the conservative to support the conformity and group-thinking of isolationism, hysterical anti-communism, and racial segregation (on the ground that it is an expression of state's rights). The formula also lets the conservative oppose the individualism of the agnostic, the pacifist, the integrationist, the upholder of the Fifth Amendment, the opponent of wire-tapping and other advocates of unconventional and unpopular views.

Irving Brant, the biographer of President Madison, writing in the *New Republic* last summer, called the *National Review* "the identical twin of the John Birch Society, wearing a Roman toga instead of a Mother Hubbard." Noting that both oppose the graduated income tax, he concluded that the magazine, and the extreme right in general, regard government intervention against extreme concentration of wealth as communistic. "If it is," he says, "American communism goes back a long way. Read the words of James Madison, 'father of the Constitution,' in the Philadelphia *National Gazette* of January 13, 1792, calling for 'the silent operation of laws, which, without violating the rights of property, reduce extreme wealth towards a state of mediocrity, and raise extreme indigence towards a state of comfort.'" Madison's reference to laws violating the rights of property was to state laws of the period that impaired contracts or wiped out debt by issuance of worthless fiat money; they were later outlawed by the Constitution.

For all its intellectualism, the *National Review* makes

its own bows to the sillier and more emotional side of the conservative movement. It is fond of spoofs, but it pretends to take seriously a spoof by Richard Rovere, an elaborate report on the "liberal establishment" that rules the country, with footnoted references to nonexistent organizations as the tip-off that Rovere was only fooling; unsophisticated conservatives are taking the Rovere report as proof of what they knew all along, that a secret cabal is running everything in the interests of Moscow. The sophisticated are happy enough to let the unintended "proof" stand.

The magazine carries blind advertisements for Merwin K. Hart's National Economic Council and the John Birch Society, as well as display advertisements for "image busters"—conservative bumper stickers with messages including "Yes, Roger, We Call It Free Enterprise" and "Remember the PT-109—Like Who Gets a Chance to Forget?"

Unlike Buckley and Evans, who never were anything but conservative and rebelled against what they found at college, others of the new conservative intellectuals spent their early adult careers on the left. Eugene Lyons, a regular anti-communist speaker for Dr. Fred C. Schwarz and other leaders of the far right, told of his early disillusionment with the Soviet Union in his book *Assignment in Utopia.*

Another person who shifted from left-wing to right-wing extremism is John Dos Passos, who worked closely with the communists in 1920s and used the "legalized murder" of Sacco and Vanzetti and the misery in the coal fields of Harlan County, Kentucky, as take-off points for attacks on the capitalistic system. He never did join the Communist Party, however, although he did practice singing "The Internationale." As he looks backward, he is able to argue a consistency in his dissent against capitalism then and his dissent now against "new evils." "I don't think I've changed as much as people make out," he said recently. "I never was that much involved in ideologies. I put them in because they're part of the scene." Where his old villains were the "brass hat," the strawboss, and the cop, he now defends big businessmen and generals who feel thwarted by a bureaucracy

of big government and big labor. It was quite a switch, but his new friends on the right manage to see consistency in that Dos Passos would never find any form of collectivism congenial.

Most of the far right's intellectuals devote most of their efforts to urging the movement onward, working for the day when, they hope, it will be an effective political movement.

Some of the intellectuals are undertaking the more difficult, and often thankless task, of trying to trim some of the fanaticism and foolishness out of the movement. The question remains whether this is such a vital part that the surgery can be performed without killing the patient.

## Chapter 14

# *J. Edgar Hoover and the Far Right*

*"As for me, I would rather be dead than red!"*

—J. EDGAR HOOVER

Gerald L. K. Smith, the durable and out-spoken anti-Semitic preacher and pamphleteer, published the following comment on the director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation in the February, 1962, issue of his magazine *The Cross and the Flag:*

> Down through these years, subtle attempts have been made to smear and belittle the character, the responsibility and the wisdom of J. Edgar Hoover. I readily admit that he has issued certain statements and written certain things which do not meet my full agreement, but in the over-all picure, he is one of the most valuable citizens America has ever had. His endurance through these years of appeasement and treason marks him as a brilliant strategist in the campaign against communist tyranny.
>
> God bless J. Edgar Hoover. May his years be extended, and may truth as personified by his life continue to be a protective factor in the affairs of our nation.

From a diametrically opposite source has come equally high praise for the FBI chief. Federal Judge Jerome N. Frank, of the U. S. Court of Appeals for the Second District, wrote in the *Bulletin* of the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith in 1953:

> One fact must be recognized if we are to capture the historical import of those eras of intolerance that have marred American democracy. That fact is: in each of those periods

there was some objective justification for the fear which prompted the wave of persecution. There were persons who deserved, not persecution, but prosecution and conviction after a fair trial.

So, in our revulsion against despicable, fear-stimulated conduct, we cannot lose sight of the frightening dangers that warrant some real apprehensions, and of the fact that the totalitarian regime which deems us the enemy does have active, secret agents in our midst . . .

Today the fashion in pseudo-liberal circles dictates severe criticism of the FBI. But here is a force, held by a chief to the best police standards, abjuring the third degree and trained to respect civil liberties.

How has Hoover earned the praise of both Gerald L. K. Smith and also the organization that Smith has called the "OGPU of Jewish intrigue"? How has he managed to please both the far right, including its fanatical fringe, as well as the ADL, which has been the scourge of that extremist fringe?

Do both groups discern in Hoover an essential integrity and even-handedness and accord him the respect that bitterly competitive baseball teams may accord a tough but fair umpire? Or, as another possibility, do both groups praise him out of respect for the influence he wields as head of the most powerful investigative agency in the country, a position he has held through and into the administrations of six Presidents and twelve Attorneys General?

Both explanations may help fill out the answer. But another part of the solution lies in a consistent ambiguity that runs through most of his public statements about the communist menace and the role of the ordinary citizen in combatting it.

For example, when Hoover received the George Washington Award of the Freedoms Foundation at Valley Forge on February 22, 1962, his speech included this reference to the threat of "godless communism":

This deadly international conspiracy now rules more than a fourth of the earth's surface and a third of her peoples. Its tentacles reach to the very shores of America where, less than 100 miles from our coast line, the communist dagger, clenched in the tight fist of a bearded international bandit, strikes at the heart of a desperate people and endangers the peace of the hemisphere.

Later in the same speech, he warned against danger at home from two directions:

> Our freedoms were not won by defeatists—fair-weather patriots who crawl into hiding at the first sign of danger. Nor does our strength stem from the 'pseudo-liberals' of the extreme left nor the "pseudo-patriots" of the extreme right.
>
> The cause of freedom is not advanced by persons or organizations which make it a fetish to grant our enemies privileges that law-abiding citizens themselves do not enjoy or seek. Nor is the American tradition fostered by those self-professed experts who promote hysteria by distorting the truth and misrepresenting the facts concerning the internal enemies of the United States. We should not minimize the threat and challenge of communism for one moment. But we must guard against the hysterical and irrational approach.

Well before the start of the Kennedy Administration, which reappointed him as one of its first acts, Hoover was warning against hysteria and abuses of civil liberties in fighting domestic communism. In December, 1959, the FBI published an article by Hoover in which, after praising the House Un-American Activities Committee and the anti-communist testimony of rehabilitated former communists, he warned against "the danger of confusing communism with legitimate dissent on controversial issues." He pointed out that the communist "party line" will frequently coincide with the views of many non-communists on specific issues. He continued:

> We must not, therefore, indiscriminately label as communists those whose opinions on a particular question may, on occasion, parallel the official party position. We must also guard against the tendency to characterize as communists those who merely disagree with us or who advocate unorthodox or unpopular beliefs.
>
> When anyone is erroneously branded a communist, it not only constitutes an injustice to the individual, but also helps communism by diffusing the strength of anti-communist forces. In combatting communism, we must beware of vigilante action. The responsibilities of citizens are to be certain of the facts and to report these facts to the proper authorities.

In a memorandum to all law enforcement officials in April, 1961, Hoover warned "above all" against "the danger of irresponsible counteraction by citizens who lend impetus to communism through inept attempts to

fight this insidious menace." He restated the theme of leaving anti-communism to the legally constituted authorities but giving them steadfast cooperation, observing that "this is neither the time for inaction nor vigilante action."

In the *American Bar Association Journal* for February, 1962, he called for "more light and less heat" and said there were "far too many self-styled experts on communism . . . plying the highways of America giving erroneous and distorted information" and causing "hysteria, false alarms, misplaced apprehension by many of our citizens."

In a discussion of the Communist Party line published by the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee, he climaxed a similar warning with the observation that "both Hitler and Mussolini were against communism," but that this did not help them in the judgment of history.

These were harsh words, indeed, to use against the less responsible free enterprise anti-communist operations. Yet when Major General Edwin A. Walker issued his lengthy statement upon resigning from the Army, he was able to find this strong defense of the anti-communist groups, also by Hoover:

> It is appalling that some members of our society continue to deplore and criticize those who stress the communist danger. What these misguided "authorities" fail to realize is that the Communist Party, U.S.A., is an integral part of the international communism. As the world-wide menace becomes more powerful, the various communist parties assume a more dangerous and sinister role in the countries in which they are entrenched. Public indifference to the threat is tantamount to national suicide.
>
> Lethargy leads only to disaster. The communists have a savage plan of liquidation for a vanquished America.

A slightly different balance was struck by Assistant FBI Director W. C. Sullivan in a speech at Southern Methodist University, Dallas, Texas, October 18, 1961. He said communism could be fought effectively only with truth and justice, and he laid down two rules:

> To particularize these general concepts means that no American citizen shall stigmatize another person as a communist without having all the facts to establish this conclusion

beyond any reasonable doubt. Honest liberals, progressives, and earnest people who disagree with us should not be confused with communists. Civil rights must never be violated. Native neo-fascists must be combatted with the same vigor as native communists. Our multiple freedoms must not be preserved only but actually enlarged.

Fighting communism with truth and justice means also that our articulate citizens should possess all the facts before they protest that certain individuals are not communists or intelligence agents of hostile foreign powers. It means constant vigilance to avoid being made a dupe by adroit communists and their attractively-named front organizations. It means we must have a strong sense of realism and alertness to prevent infiltration of concealed communists into the major channels of American society where public opinion is molded.

In other words, be slow to accuse, but also be slow to excuse.

Hoover's book about communism, *Masters of Deceit,* published in 1958, encourages volunteer neighborhood counterspies in relating "the Case of the Forgotten Rubbish." Hoover says a man telephoned one of the FBI field offices and reported finding some peculiar rubbish when cleaning out his garage. He had found a box of cards left by some roomers who had moved away a month or two earlier. An agent went to the house and found the cards were membership records of a complete section of the Communist Party, supposed to be destroyed but left by mistake with the rubbish.

Hoover went on with this advice:

Don't think one must have evidence establishing the identity of a spy, the hide-out of an underground party leader, or the location of stolen blueprints before he can report information. Many cases start with very small clues, a scrap of paper, a photograph, an abandoned passport. Then, bit by bit, the entire picture is developed by investigation.

He said the FBI did not want rumor or idle gossip but suggested that citizens report any information about espionage, sabotage, and subversive activities.

While encouraging volunteer anti-communist activity, ostensibly the chief objective of most of the new far-right groups, Hoover has steadily emphasized the continuing menace of the domestic communist movement. He still estimates Communist Party membership at

10,000, compared to the party's top claim of 80,000 in 1944, and emphasizes that the present membership is a dedicated hard core, directed by an international movement grown far more powerful in recent years.

He also gave specific aid to the far right movement in his support of the film "Operation Abolition" now largely discredited, which attempted to show that the communists were responsible for a riot in 1960 at the San Francisco City Hall, where hearings were being held by the House Committee on Un-American Activities. A statement by Hoover published by the House Committee, called "Communist Target—Youth," supported the thesis of the film, overlooking a broad community protest against the hearings and non-communist leadership of the picketing students. The view, supported by Hoover, that the students started the affray and the police were innocent of any brutality received its final blow when a jury returned a verdict of not guilty in an assault case against the last of sixty-four students arrested. Charges against the other sixty-three had been dismissed earlier.

On balance, it is not surprising that much of the far right has adopted J. Edgar Hoover as its patron saint and is content to close its ears to his warnings against vigilanteism.

## Chapter 15

## *The Right Tries to Right Itself*

> *"Cry wolf often enough, and everyone takes you for an imbecile or a knave, when after all there are wolves in this world."*
>
> —RUSSELL KIRK,
> in a letter to Robert Welch

A LANDMARK in the development of the new far right came with the publication of the February 13, 1962, issue of the *National Review*. With no hint on the cover of the dynamite inside, the magazine printed a carefully-worded, devastating attack on Robert Welch, founder and present leader of the John Birch Society.

In the words of Russell Kirk, a columnist for the magazine and one of the leading intellectuals of the far right, Welch was a "likeable, honest, courageous, energetic man" who nevertheless "by silliness and injustice of utterance" had become "the kiss of death" for any conservative enterprise.

Newspaper and magazine exposures of Welch and the society had already made him a serious embarrassment to many leaders of the far right. Welch's attacks against the loyalty of former President Eisenhower, President Kennedy, the Dulles brothers and other national leaders had made him ridiculous in the eyes of many Americans and unacceptable in the eyes of most American politicians.

Senator Barry Goldwater and Representative Walter Judd had already assailed Welch as unfit to lead an effective anti-communist movement, and Richard M. Nixon had announced his opposition to the society as a whole.

The *National Review*'s six-page blockbuster appeared under the heading "The Question of Robert Welch." It began by brushing aside the notion that Welch's charges against General Eisenhower and the others were merely personal observations, having no bearing on the John Birch Society and its activities:

> Although the work on Mr. Eisenhower (sometimes called "The Politician," sometimes "The Black Book") was indeed written before the John Birch Society was founded, it was circulated right up until a year ago to select members of the Society as, by implication, the ultimate insight of the founder and leader of the John Birch Society. Mr. Welch has never disavowed the book, and for obvious reasons: it can be demonstrated, by quotations from his current writings, that the Black Book's central thesis (that the government of the United States has been "under operational control of the Communist Party"—words he used publicly in the summer of 1960) continues to govern his thinking even today.

Then, point by point, the editorial showed that the same premises "underlie current statements by Mr. Welch on contemporary affairs, and continue to guide his practical leadership of the Society." For example, Welch has said the Cuban invasion was a plot by Fidel Castro and his friends in the United States Government to make him stronger and reduce United States prestige, whereas everybody, including Welch, knows that the invasion was planned by the Eisenhower Administration, endorsed by Mr. Eisenhower himself, and reaffirmed by the Kennedy Administration and President Kennedy himself. What other deduction can there be from his words than that the two presidents are pro-communist?

Welch's published estimate in 1961 that the United States is 50-70 per cent Communist-controlled repeats *The Black Book*'s thesis that the United States is under the operational control of the Communist Party.

The editorial also found it nonsense that, as Welch said publicly this year, President Tito of Yugoslavia always had been a faithful communist agent of the Kremlin and that his break with Stalin was "completely stage-managed and phony," that Prime Minister Nehru of India and President Nasser of Egypt were "every bit as completely communist agents of the Kremlin as . . .

Mao Tse-tung," that the revolts in Poland and Hungary in 1956 were "deliberately precipitated by the Kremlin for its own purposes," that the CIA is pro-communist, that NATO only pretends to oppose the communist bloc and that the United States government is deliberately trying to destroy its economy and sell out the country to the Soviet Union.

The editorial said that Welch was repelling, rather than attracting, the great following needed by the conservative movement and that the society was "growing no faster than the movement to impeach Earl Warren, who remains as unimpeached today as when Mr. Welch first launched that ill-conceived campaign." It concluded:

> Mr. Welch, for all his good intentions, threatens to divert militant conservative action to irrelevance and ineffectuality. There are, as we say, great things that need doing, the winning of a national election, the re-education of the governing class. John Birch chapters can do much to forward those aims, but only as they dissipate the fog of confusion that issues from Mr. Welch's smoking typewriter. Mr. Welch has revived in many men the spirit of patriotism, and that same spirit calls now for rejecting, out of a love of truth and country, his false counsels.

The *National Review's* attack on Welch drew important support from many conservative leaders, including retired Admiral Arthur W. Radford, who had been serving with some Birchers on the American Security Council's National Strategy Committee but found the editorial "interesting because it gave me information on Mr. Welch I had not seen before, and disturbing because a man with such ideas could gain such a following in the United States."

Other readers of the *National Review*, however, complained that the magazine ought to be turning its biting pen against the left rather than against fellow conservatives and asked whether it would not be safer to believe in Welch's warnings on the chance that he might be correct.

The move by the *National Review* came nearly a year after some other right-wing leaders gave serious thought to haling Welch before a sort of unofficial con-

servative court or else, if necessary, passing judgment on him *in absentia*. Arthur G. McDowell, executive secretary-treasurer of the Council against Communist Aggression in Philadelphia, addressed the proposal to eleven well-known conservatives and asked them to serve on a "voluntary commission of inquiry into the John Birch Society."

McDowell said he was circulating the invitation because "the authoritarian nonsense to which Bob Welch has attached his name, potentially, at least, is capable of destroying the intellectual authority of conservative opinion in the battle against communist attack everywhere, and because thousands of loyal, sincere and dedicated Americans who have joined the John Birch Society are in danger of disillusionment and demoralization, which, by the terms of their enlistment, they are helpless to correct or avert." He suggested that the commission might decide to recommend "resignations, reorganizations or other correctives." As precedents, he cited George Washington's move to dissolve the Society of Cincinnatus "when its implications menaced the principles of the new Republic" and the move by patriotic and reputable southerners to dissolve the original Ku Klux Klan "when its methods became a menace even to its own objectives."

But the plan was abandoned for lack of support. Lawrence Fertig called it a "kangaroo court." Edgar Ansel Mowrer asked that the task be left to "other more inquisitorial minds" than his own. Leo Cherne doubted that the commission could agree and said it would lay itself open to investigation by some other private group. William F. Buckley, Jr., thought his editorial position would be more effective if he stayed off the commission. Russell Kirk would have been willing to serve, but he was just leaving on a five-month trip to Europe. Raymond Moley was willing, but he wanted to know first who else would be on the commission. There was no answer from Senator Thomas J. Dodd, Senator Barry Goldwater, Mrs. Clare Boothe Luce, General Albert C. Wedemeyer or General James A. Van Fleet.

The right's attack on Welch bears some resemblance to the liberals' break with the communists in the 1940s,

when CIO unions threw out the reds and Americans for Democratic Action was formed as a liberal, anti-communist political organization. An important difference, however, is that the liberals' self-purgation was aimed at the entire organization that was poisoning their movement, while the conservatives' action is mainly not against the John Birch Society but merely against the one individual who founded it, dominates it and gives it its strength and character.

Other far-right leaders have other ideas for purifying and co-ordinating the movement to make it more effective. Edward Hunter, chairman of the co-ordinating committee of a new right-wing coalition formed last March on the initiative of Billy James Hargis, says nothing about purging any lunatic fringe but seems to think the only danger is lack of confidence. In a recent letter to coalition "contacts," whom he hopes will eventually number a thousand, he says:

> We've got the anti-communists squealing. We've got the pro-reds scared. The reds are resorting to desperate gambles. We anti-communists are scoring blow after blow. We're gaining victories here in the U.S. . . A year ago, nobody would have believed that a Senate board of inquiry would have been able to have been set up, much less achieve what the Special Preparedness Subcommittee has accomplished, and it's only a start!
>
> But everywhere I've gone, instead of finding anti-communists recognizing their achievements, and devising means of exploiting them, I've found people on our side crying on each other's shoulders, behaving as if there were no hope left, as if they had not been making gains. These crybabies on the anti-communist side can lose the fight for all of us and all mankind if they don't shake themselves out of this defeatist trance.

Other members of Hunter's committee, called officially "Anti-Communist Liaison—Committee of Correspondence, 1764-1962," include Major General C. A. Willoughby, General Douglas MacArthur's chief of intelligence from 1939 to 1951; Brigadier General Bonner Fellers, General MacArthur's chief of information; Benjamin Gitlow, one of the original members of the Communist Party, USA, but for the last forty years one of its principal opponents; Miss Bella V. Dodd, a former

Communist Party lawyer expelled in 1949 and since then an active anti-communist; Representative John H. Rousselot of California, a member of the John Birch Society, and Karl Hess, a former editor of *Counter Attack* and the *World,* a right-wing weekly newspaper.

General MacArthur, ironically, plays a dual role in the present far-right movement. His break with President Truman over strategy in the Korean War has been an inspiration to many ultra-conservatives. A passage in his address to Congress April 19, 1951, set the tone for later right-wing accusations that the United States has a "no-win policy." The passage, incidentally, provided a title for Frank J. Johnson's jingoistic book, *No Substitute for Victory.* In that speech eleven years ago, General MacArthur said:

> Once war is forced upon us, there is no other alternative than to apply every available means to bring it to a swift end. War's very object is victory, not prolonged indecision. In war there is no substitute for victory.

From that statement, the far right found it an easy jump to apply the same reasoning to the "cold war," to condemn all efforts at accommodation with the enemy and to insist on total (although unspecified) victory. This thinking may account for the large number of General MacArthur's associates in the Korean War who now have turned up in organizations of the new far right.

But General MacArthur himself has been a disappointment to some of the new men of the far right. Some of them think he is one of the few persons with the stature and personal magnetism who could have come forward as a leader to unify the entire movement, and yet when the opportunity came he turned his back on political action. In a speech to the corps of cadets at West Point May 31, 1962, he made clear his thinking on the role of military men in politics. He displayed sympathy with many of the tenets of the far right, but he said such issues were not a soldier's responsibility:

> Others will debate the controversial issues, national and international, which divide men's minds; but serene, calm, aloof, you stand as the nation's war-guardian, as its lifeguard

from the raging tides of international conflict, as its gladiator in the arena and battle. For a century and a half you have defended, guarded and protected its hallowed traditions of liberty and freedom, of right and justice.

Let civilian voices argue the merits or demerits of our processes of government; whether our strength is being sapped by deficit financing, indulged in too long, by federal paternalism grown too mighty, by power groups grown too arrogant, by politics grown too corrupt, by crime grown too rampant, by morals grown too low, by taxes grown too high, by extremists grown too violent; whether our personal liberties are as thorough and complete as they should be. These great national problems are not for your professional participation or military solution. Your guidepost stands out like a tenfold beacon in the night: duty—honor—country.

George E. Sokolsky, the conservative newspaper columnist, sometimes is critical of the way things are going on the far right. He was among the first to criticize the John Birch Society. He chose Dr. Fred C. Schwarz as a target recently, chiding him as an alien interfering in American affairs and observing that the only new face among the speakers at his Madison Square Garden meeting was Pat Boone, the popular singer, whose "greatest contribution to the cause of anti-communism was his promise to blow up his four daughters if the communists captured them."

Sokolsky's major criticism was that a Russian spy mysteriously escaped from this country "while these Schwarzites were busying themselves with the same speeches we all made in the 1930s."

For every conservative leader who evinces public concern about the ridiculous, fanatical or imprudent elements of the far right, there are many others who are happy enough to have the entire spectrum operating at as nearly full blast as possible. This laissez faire attitude is often accompanied by the private assurance that we all know such-and-such an organization is hopelessly impractical or that "I personally think so-and-so is loony."

Conflicts between those who are generally on the same side are never pleasant, of course. But the circumstances suggest that there is more than this to the reluctance of those on the far right to disavow any individuals or groups, no matter how "loony." An examination of

many of the organizations of the far right indicates that the movement as a whole rests heavily on ignorance, suspicion, fear and prejudice. It is doubtful that the more moderate elements in the far right could stand much of a clean-up. The result could well be a massive realignment, with the "loonies" as the beneficiaries.

Be that as it may, there has not yet been any test. The move against Welch is the only direct effort to read someone out of the movement, and he is still there.

## Chapter 16

## *The Texas Tower*

*"Unfortunately, too many of the intellectuals in the Administration believe that all the problems in the conflict with communism can be solved around the conference table."*

—SENATOR JOHN G. TOWER

Ten years ago, John Goodwin Tower looked like the antithesis of a conservative Senator from Texas. He was a young political science professor returning to this country after a year's study at the London School of Economics, which is usually associated with the production of socialists or liberals. And then, as now, he was only 5 feet 5½ inches tall.

He was, however, even then a stanch conservative. And he turned his shortness of stature into an asset by joking about it. He often starts a speech with a disarming "My name is Tower, but I do not." Sometimes he says he received a special dispensation from the Texas Chamber of Commerce that permits him to be "one foot less than the legal minimum height for Texans."

After only a little more than a year in the Senate, he is already an influential member of that body, the most sought-after speaker on the Republican banquet circuit after Barry Goldwater, and a favorite of the far right.

Tower has been assigned to two major Senate committees, Banking and Currency and Labor and Public Welfare. He is also the only first-term Senator serving on the Senate Republican Policy Committee. He was one of six Senators named to a Senate-House committee to draft a statement of Republican principles. (Leading the

list was a demand for a policy of victory over communism.)

His rise in the party comes at an opportune time, with the Republicans holding high hopes of making deep inroads in the still fairly solidly Democratic South. If the party can add substantially to its five Dixie House members this fall, it may well be looking for a vice-presidential candidate from the South in 1964.

Tower parries questions about any ambitions he may have along such lines. "I'm not a man with a timetable," he says.

He does, indeed, have plenty of years ahead of him. He is thirty-seven years old. His age and height, his cherubic face, and his slicked-down brown hair make him the yonugest-looking member of the Senate. He was the youngest in fact until the appointment of thirty-five year-old Senator Maurice Murphy of New Hampshire.

Tower was born in Houston, Texas, September 29, 1925, the son of a Methodist clergyman and the grandson of two others. He served at sea in the Navy in World War II and taught political science at Midwestern University in Wichita Falls until he entered politics. A year's study in England formed the basis for his master's thesis on "The Conservative Worker in Britain."

Tower lost in his first try for the Senate, when Lyndon B. Johnson defeated him in 1960 by nearly 400,000 votes. The next year, Tower entered the free-for-all election to fill the vacancy Johnson left when he became Vice President. Tower, the only Republican running, placed first in a field of 71. He won handily in a run-off election over the man who placed second, Senator William A. Blakley, a conservative Democrat who had been appointed to fill the Johnson vacancy temporarily. Tower is married and has three young daughters.

Part of Tower's attractiveness is his youth and bounce. Another part is the novelty of his being in the Senate at all. He is the first Republican to be elected to the Senate from Texas since the Reconstruction. He is the only Republican Senator ever elected by popular vote from any of the former Confederate States. Another thing running in his favor is his Napoleonic confidence in himself and his party at a time when President Kennedy's

still-soaring popularity gives many Republicans a down-in-the-mouth look.

One more key factor in his political success is of special interest here: he goes just so far but not too far with the far right. For example, there was his diplomatic answer when he was asked on "Meet the Press," three days after being sworn in, whether he accepted the leadership in the Republican Party of Nixon, Governor Nelson Rockefeller or Goldwater, Tower replied:

> This question would assume, I think, that there are three clearly defined factions in the Republican Party, each led by one of these gentlemen. I don't recognize such a factional breakdown in the Republican Party, and I don't believe many Republican leaders or participants do. As far as political philosophy is concerned, of course, I am very close to Barry Goldwater. I am also a friend of Vice President Nixon. I have received some good counsel and advice from him. I have met Governor Rockefeller and find him a very personable and charming person. I imagine that we tend to disagree on a great number of issues.

A few months later, an episode began that made Tower nationally known as a figure in the far right. Major Harry Knickerbocker, a National Guard reserve pilot, became upset over the training of five or six Yugoslav pilots at Perrin Air Force Base, Sherman, Texas, along with pilots from West Germany, Nationalist China and other allies. He called this "treason" in a strongly-worded letter of protest to Senator Tower. The publicity was generated, not by Tower, but by some of Knickerbocker's friends, who mimeographed a copy of the letter and sent it to the newspapers.

Not long afterward, Tower's administrative assistant, C. Herschel Schooley, stirred up some publicity from Washington on a similar issue. He put out a statement in the Senator's name denouncing peaceful atomic assistance being given to Yugoslavia under the Atoms for Peace Program begun by President Eisenhower.

Major Knickerbocker's protest over the Yugoslav pilots boiled up into a movement called the National Indignation Convention, one of the fastest growing of the new right-wing groups. The organizer, Frank McGehee, a thirty-two-year-old Dallas garage owner and

former law student, was unable to make telephone connections with Senator Tower at the kickoff meeting in October, 1961, but he did get a call through to Representative Bruce Alger of Texas, who assured the meeting over a public address system that he wanted to be its voice in Washington.

Later meetings produced an appeal from the NIC to former Major General Edwin A. Walker to run for President and a suggestion from a Texas rancher that impeachment was too good for Chief Justice Warren—he ought to be hanged.

It was clear by that time that the organization was off in the wilds of fanaticism. Tower kept his relations with it courteous but at arm's length, the way one might treat a wealthy but unpleasantly erratic relative.

The organization asked Tower to do something about halting the training of military personnel from communist countries, barring the sale of weapons to communist countries, and removing from office all officials who had had anything to do with such programs. The Senator's response was to introduce a concurrent resolution on the subject, but he did it "by request." That meant he did it as an accommodation to a group of constituents without necessarily advocating it himself. The measure was sent to the Foreign Relations Committee and pigeonholed there, to no one's surprise.

When the controversy over General Walker's Birch-type troop training program was going on, the general paid three or four visits to Tower's office for help and advice. Tower sent a telegram to Secretary of Defense McNamara asking that Walker be given a full and fair hearing. He also introduced a resolution urging that Walker be heard as a witness by the Senate Armed Services Committee.

But when Walker began seeing himself as a man on a white horse and talked of entering the Texas governorship race, Tower joined Senator Thurmond in urging Walker to stay out of partisan politics. They pleaded with him for two and one half hours in Tower's office. Walker disregarded their advice and announced his candidacy for the Democratic nomination. Tower took that as sufficient reason for dissociating himself from Walker

and his grievances, and he stayed away from the Senate hearings where Walker testified.

Tower later joined with Goldwater in persuading the Young Americans for Freedom to drop Walker from the list of speakers at its rally in Madison Square Garden last March. Goldwater gave them an ultimatum, saying he would withdraw if Walker attended. Tower made no threat to quit himself but argued that it would be out of keeping with the purpose of the meeting to have a partisan candidate as one of the speakers.

At the meeting, Tower drew heavy applause with an attack on the "liberal establishment," a group of persons who, he said, "are not satisfied with our society as it is" and "see themselves as the prophets, planners and administrators of a new society in which they will be the ruling élite."

Tower made another move to dissociate himself from the fanatic fringe of the far right when he publicly endorsed the *National Review's* effort to read Robert Welch out of the John Birch Society. He wrote a letter to the magazine, commending its "airtight case" against Welch and associating itself with its conclusions. He put the entire article into the *Congressional Record.*

Those moves earned him sharp criticism from those who continued to support Welch. Phoebe Courtney, writing in *The Independent American,* assailed Tower as "Goldwater's shadow." She complained particularly about his joining Goldwater in forcing Walker off the YAF program. She said she suspected that the moves against Welch and Walker were maneuvers to "fractionate the conservatives and deliver the Republican Party in toto into the hands of the liberal-internationalist Republican clique."

Having turned against Welch and Walker and pulled back somewhat from the National Indignation Convention, Tower took some comfort from the fact that Walker placed last in a field of six in the May 5 Democratic primary. Some other observers, however, considered Walker's 130,000 votes surprisingly high and foresaw more trouble to come from the extreme end of the far right in Texas.

Among the rest of the far right, Tower's standing is

first rate. He placed first in the Americans for Constitutional Action tally for the second session of the Eighty-Seventh Congress, with a score of 100 per cent. Even Goldwater made only 99 per cent. The criterion was his record of roll call votes that were presumed to show whether he favored or opposed "policies which tend to safeguard or strengthen rights and guarantees based upon constitutional principles."

Last March 1, he introduced a series of eight bills and resolutions composing what he called "an affirmative, conservative legislative program." It was a sort of one-man State of the Union message expressing in dignified terms most of the objectives of the far right.

His first point was a blow at the presumed "no-win" policy that the far right charges has been guiding the United States in recent years. He proposed a concurrent resolution expressing "the sense of Congress that the purpose of U.S. foreign policy is victory over communism." The rest of his package consisted of proposals for a resolution giving state laws presumptive superiority over federal laws on the same subjects, a labor anti-trust law, gradual abolition of farm price supports, a study of government competition with private enterprise, a joint committee on foreign trade, across-the-board tax reductions for individuals and businesses, and a mandatory balanced budget except in case of war or other grave national emergency. None of his proposals was expected to get out of committee.

He put his first point in stronger terms in an article in the March, 1962, *New Guard*, the magazine of Young Americans for Freedom, calling for "an aggressive diplomatic line, backed by military force if necessary."

After Tower had presented his eight points, he was immediately commended by Senator Jacob K. Javits of New York, one of the Republicans' leading liberals. He said Tower's statement took him out of the ideological bailiwick of the extremists.

Tower, himself, has referred to the right-wing extremists as "poorly led," "intemperate," and "guilty of bad judgment."

He walked a similarly careful line on civil rights

issues. He joined the Dixie caucus of eighteen Southern Democrats and took part in marathon debates against the proposed poll tax amendment and the bill prohibiting literacy tests for voters. But he avoided racism, arguing on the poll tax issue that the amendment was a needless measure since, he said, the tax did not restrict voting in Texas and soon would be abolished by the state legislature anyhow.

By such tactics, Tower has been able to stay in favor with most of the far right and still maintain a strong position in the Republican Party. His actions thus far suggest that he puts his party ahead of the far right when pushed to a choice. It would be a mistake to consider him a captive of the far right. He has maintained the political independence necessary for success in a two-party system in which each party brings together a wide range of views and interests.

# Chapter 17

## *The Future*

*"Now the trumpet summons us again—not as a call to bear arms, though arms we need —not as a call to battle, though embattled we are—but a call to bear the burden of a long twilight struggle, year in and year out, 'rejoicing in hope, patient in tribulation'— a struggle against the common enemies of man: tyranny, poverty, disease and war itself."*

—PRESIDENT KENNEDY,
in his inaugural address, January 20, 1961

Brigadier General Herbert Y. Edgeways, USA (Ret.) was addressing the annual Ladies' Night Dinner of the Rotary Club in Fort Beulah, Vermont:

. . . for these U-nited States, a-lone among the great powers, have no desire for foreign conquest. Our highest ambition is to be darned well let alone! Our only gen-uine relationship to Europe is in our arduous task of having to try and educate the crass and ignorant masses that Europe has wished onto us up to something like a semblance of American culture and good manners. But, as I explained to you, we must be prepared to defend our shores against all the alien gangs of international racketeers that call themselves "governments," and that with such feverish envy are always eyeing our inexhaustible mines, our towering forests, our titanic and luxurious cities, our fair and far-flung fields.

For the first time in all history, a great nation must go on arming itself more and more, not for conquest—not for jealousy—not for war—but for peace! Pray God it may never be necessary, but if foreign nations don't sharply heed our warning, there will, as when the proverbial dragon's teeth were sowed, spring up an armed and fearless warrior upon every square foot of these United States, so arduously cultivated

and defended by our pioneer fathers, whose sword-girded images we must be . . . or we shall perish!

There was a roar of applause. But his emphasis on peace raised some questioning comments, and the general got to his feet again:

Well, sir! Since you folks are bound and determined to drag the secrets out of a poor soldier, I better confess that while I do abhor war, yet there are worse things. Ah, my friends, far worse! A state of so-called peace, in which labor organizations are riddled, as by plague germs, with insane notions out of anarchistic Red Russia! A state in which college professors, newspapermen, and notorious authors are secretly promulgating these same seditious attacks on the grand old Constitution! A state in which, as a result of being fed with these mental drugs, the people are flabby, cowardly, grasping and lacking in the fierce pride of the warrior! No, such a state is far worse than war at its most monstrous! . . .

Why, here, as recently as three years ago, a sickeningly big percentage of students were blatant pacifists, wanting to knife their own native land in the dark. But now, when the shameless fools and the advocates of communism try to hold pacifist meetings—why, my friends, in the past five months, since January first, no less than seventy-five such exhibitionistic orgies have been raided by their fellow students, and no less than fifty-nine disloyal red students have received their just deserts by being beaten up so severely that never again will they raise in this free country the bloodstained banner of anarchism! That, my friends, is news!

The general and his speech were imaginary, it may be recalled. They appeared in Sinclair Lewis's novel *It Can't Happen Here,* published in 1935, a fanciful story of the United States going fascist. Sensible people said it could not happen here, but in Lewis's book it did.

What are the prospects in real life? Do the words of the men of the far right, some of them right out of that novel of the 'thirties, mean that the United States could destroy its democratic form of government in a frenzy of resentment and fear?

The short answer is "no." Some of the essential ingredients are lacking. There would first have to be a crushing disaster that would weaken the nation to the point where it could fall victim to a fascist threat. There also would have to be a suitable leader, and no such man on horseback is in sight. Such leaders as there are, many of them obvious crackpots, are so engrossed in their tactical

and ideological differences and so jealous of their vested interests in their various organizations that any coalescence of the far right into a co-ordinated movement seems far off.

Even a third party movement of any significance seems out of the question at present, for the same reasons.

There are indications, moreover, that the growth of the new far right is leveling off. This is the view of Alan F. Westin, associate professor of public law at Columbia University, an acute observer of the far right. He believes the radical right has been stabilized largely because of a taking-hold or a sobering-up on the part of the American public, as well as widespread repudiation by political leaders and civic organizations. Professor Westin went on to suggest, however, in a speech last April, that one classic response of an extremist movement blocked by the democratic center would be to turn increasingly to anti-Semitic, anti-Negro, or possibly anti-Catholic lines, thus creating an extra conspiracy to explain their frustrations. An alternative, he said, would be for the leaders of the far right to try to purge themselves of the label of extremism. They could do this by getting rid of some of the more extreme leaders or by confusing the issue until the public no longer knows what is extremism. This last is already happening, in the efforts by some to put the Americans for Democratic Action (ADA) at one end of a scale and the John Birch Society at the other, as extremes of left and right. A more accurate comparison would make the Birch Society's opposite number the Communist Party. Americans for Constitutional Action is more correctly the converse of the ADA.

Some maneuvering along these lines is in progress, including some signs of increased bigotry.

In the meantime, the main stream of activity on the far right is along the line expressed by Senator Thurmond, in connection with his campaign to let military men speak freely about the cold war: "If the military teaches the true nature of communism, it must necessarily teach that communism is fundamentally socialism. When socialism, in turn, is understood, one cannot help but realize that many of the domestic programs advo-

cated in the United States, and many of those adopted, fall clearly within the category of socialism."

If the far right is not about to stage a putsch or form a third party, what danger, if any, does it present?

In the first place, the new far right already is effective in certain local situations. It can get a librarian or a school teacher fired. It can get a book or a motion picture banned. It can subject an independent-minded person in a community to organized harassment. In some communities, it has already spread a poisonous atmosphere of suspicion and fear and paranoia.

The far right, moreover, is learning how to use some of the political techniques pioneered by the liberals, such as compiling voting records, ringing doorbells and organizing election districts. Several new right-wing organizations now are operating as political action groups in precincts or congressional districts. These include Christian Citizens, headed by a Denver construction man, Gerri von Frellich; Americans for Constitutional Action; the Anti-Communist Voters League, headed by former Congressman Donald Jackson; the Independence Foundation, Inc., which operates a Council for Individual Freedom and a National Legislative Committee; and the Manion Forum, which is setting up Conservative Clubs around the country.

The newly-organized Conservative Party, with headquarters in New York City, has set out to do what the Liberal Party has done for a long time among New York Democrats—tip the balance of power in close elections. One of its organizers was Godfrey P. Schmidt, a New York lawyer who was president of Aware, Inc., when it was attacked in 1955 for operating a blacklist of radio and television performers. He also has been an endorser of the Manion Forum.

On a national level, also, the new far right is having an effect today. It has been exerting steady pressure on members of Congress to prohibit foreign aid to Yugoslavia and Poland and to neutral nations, to restrict the power of the Supreme Court, to restrict support of the UN, to oppose improved social legislation and to cut back the income tax. It has been exerting steady pressure on the President and the Department of State against

recognition of Communist China or Outer Mongolia, against any move to bring mainland China into the UN and against anything in the disarmament or arms control line, no matter how carefully safeguarded.

The pattern persists, despite changes in its details. Some of the ultra-conservatives were jubilant this year when Democrats as liberal as Senator Henry Jackson of Washington, William Proxmire of Wisconsin and Stuart Symington of Missouri took up causes that had been pioneered by the far right. Jackson assailed the UN, Proxmire opposed aid to Poland and Yugoslavia, and Symington wanted to cut off aid to India. But those on the far right were upset when the aid programs to Poland and Yugoslavia were saved, at least temporarily, by the intercession of two such strong conservatives as Representatives Francis E. Walter of Pennsylvania and Walter H. Judd of Minnesota.

So much for the present. What about the future?

A national calamity of sufficient magnitude could be the catalyst that would cause the splintered, quarreling right wing, apparently stalled now after an initial membership surge, to coalesce into a powerful, united mass movement capable of great political effectiveness. The question of a leader might prove academic. Leaders, good or bad, often have a way of coming forward to meet the demands of the times.

It is not hard to imagine several different traumatic events, any one of which might shock the nation so deeply that it would set off this coalescence.

Taking an example in the field of foreign affairs, what if the United States suddenly found itself kicked out of Berlin under humiliating circumstances? What if the choice were between a nuclear world war and withdrawal and the government reluctantly decided to pull out?

What if the fighting in Vietnam intensified, the United States decided to try to destroy North Vietnam rather than let it continue to be a "privileged sanctuary," and another drawn-out Korean War developed in Southeast Asia?

What if Communist China, over United States opposition, became a member of the United Nations, dem-

onstrating that the United States had become a member of a minority that could be outvoted at will by the rest of the world organization?

The most obvious domestic example of a great potential national calamity would be a serious depression, with massive unemployment, business failures and mortgage foreclosures. The continued sluggish economy and sizeable unemployment totals this year, together with the stock market crash of last May, have aroused thoughts in recent months that serious depressions may not, after all, be a thing of the past.

Another traumatic experience, less obvious but possibly more likely to be in store for the American people, is an explosion of the Negro populations of the big cities of the North out of their traditional neighborhoods into all-white communities in the outskirts and suburbs. Southern segregationists are already an important element in the far right. Northerners who thought of Little Rock as a distant problem would be surprised at the heights of emotionalism reached if their own all-white neighborhoods were threatened with Negro intrusion. Residents of the quiet Chicago suburb of Deerfield, Illinois, had such an experience in 1959. There were charges of a communist plot, and Mrs. Elizabeth Dilling, a veteran of an earlier ultra-conservative upsurge, helped stir up a bitter community conflict that is still far from settled.

A final obvious question is what can the individual citizen do about the far right. There is no easy answer, but a few words of advice may help:

In the first place, keep cool. J. Edgar Hoover and Senator Fulbright agree in warning against hysteria over communism. A main point in Fulbright's memorandum about the military in politics was that the American people are already sufficiently alerted to the communist menace.

Don't endow the communists with super-human powers. Premier Khrushchev made an amazingly frank remark in an interview with Walter Lippmann last year. Khrushchev had been saying that the communist party in Iran was very weak but that, nonetheless, the misery of the masses and the corruption of the government were

producing inevitable revolution. Then Khrushchev said: "You will assert that the Shah has been overthrown by the communists, and we shall be very glad to have it thought in the world that all the progressive people in Iran recognize that we are the leaders of the progress of mankind."

Nail lies when you can. A former CBS performer's libel judgment of 3.5 million dollars against Aware, Inc., doubtless has chastened some of the new crop of witch-hunters, although Myron C. Fagan, proprietor of the Cinema Educational Guild, has written to the author that the award will not affect his operation. Senator Lee Metcalf of Montana and Representative Morris K. Udall of Arizona challenged an alleged quotation from Khrushchev that right-wingers have been using on stickers on the outside of envelopes. It says: "We cannot expect the Americans to jump from capitalism to communism, but we can assist their elected leaders in giving Americans small doses of socialism, until they suddenly awake to find they have communism." From J. Edgar Hoover, the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee, the Library of Congress and the CIA, they got the same answer: No one could find that Khrushchev had ever said such a thing. The quotation was spurious.

Finally, and above all, stand up for freedom of expression. In a democracy, the way to oppose an idea is argue about it, ridicule it, possibly ignore it, but not to suppress it. The guarantee of free speech and a free press apply with special force to those with whom we disagree. The others don't need it.

—THE END—

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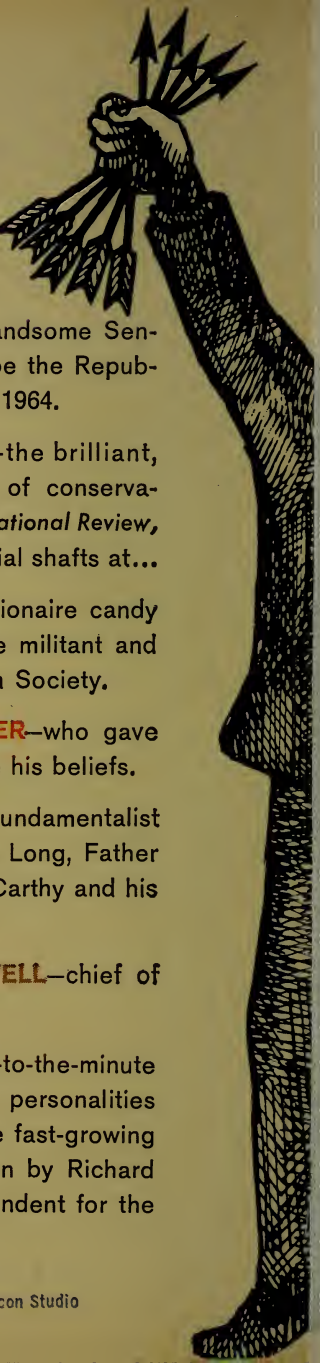

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